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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. III, No. 2 Winter 1992-93

This Quarter's Theme:

The Role of the Churches in Population Growth, Immigration and the Environment

Religions and the Environment	**Roy Beck**
The Catholic Hierarchy and Immigration	**David Simcox**
On Welcoming the Stranger	**Mark Uhlmann**
Six Billion and More	**Susan Power Bratton**
The Golden Rule in the Age of the Global Village	**Gerda Bikales**
World Population Growth and National Security	**Stephen Mumford**

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The Theology of Immigration

Editorial

As we try to explain in our "Statement of Purpose" inside the back cover of each issue, *The Social Contract* advocates a policy of restricting immigration by establishing reasonable limits, and then humanely enforcing them. In the course of working for immigration reform, we are frequently asked what groups oppose this approach. Several can be mentioned.

There are the agricultural growers who want a copious supply of docile and cheap stoop labor. There are the recrudescent sweatshop operators, running garment factories in the inner cities, who likewise want malleable and inexpensive labor. Then there are the putative ethnic group "leaders" who are looking for a larger contingent at whose head they can parade. We mustn't forget the bilingual education lobby, which has struck gold among the burgeoning ranks of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students. The list could be extended to include the practitioners of immigration law, universities needing students to balance their budgets, corporations preferring to import rather than train workers — the catalog is lengthy.

We must also place "organized religion" among the opposition. The adherents of many faiths have often worked for high levels of immigration, sometimes for noble reasons, sometimes for ones that aren't quite so exalted. Many hold sincere ideas about the "brotherhood of man" or the "universalism that disdains national borders" which lead them to argue for unimpeded movements of people.

At a more practical level, leaders of some of these groups see increasing the number of their communicants through immigration as a way to guarantee the continuance of their sect, if not the road to more influence and political power. (For instance, see the filler item on page 89.) Even more venal (but not venial), some groups persist in the refugee business simply as a way of bringing in money and providing jobs for their bureaucracies through government payments for the resettlement of refugees.

In this issue, we consider the role of organized religion in the population/ immigration/ environment/ assimilation debate, realizing full well that we may be charged with being anti-religious in general, or anti- any one of the specific groups we mention. We think that if religious groups wish to play the public policy game, they should not retreat behind charges of discrimination when their positions are challenged. As Harry Truman said, "If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen." We, as public policy advocates, are willing to stand the heat, and we plan to stay in the kitchen; we hope the religious groups are similarly resilient. If so, the basic rules of the public policy game include proceeding in the open, subjecting one's positions to free, full and searing debate, and not falling back on the *argumentum ad hominem* when the going gets tough.

The other fundamental rule is that ours is a secular, not a theocratic, society. When it comes to a conflict between church and state, the latter, in general, prevails. Thus: polygamy was outlawed among Mormons, the use of drugs in religious ceremonies has been proscribed by the Supreme Court, and the claim of a First Amendment, separation-of-church-and-state justification for anti-social behavior has been denied. (In this connection, it will be interesting to see what the Supreme Court decides in *Pichardo vs Hialeah, FL* in which the issue is the use of animals for ritual sacrifice in the Santeria religion.)

In the ensuing pages, we look at the stances of the main U.S. religious groups on a variety of population/ immigration/ environment/ assimilation questions. Several of these articles we have commissioned; in others, we reprint statements by church leaders themselves (pp. 90, 102, 123) so you can make your own evaluation of the quality of their logic and the soundness of their positions.

As conservationists aware of the cumulative impact of numbers, we have paid particular attention to the internal contradiction in denominations that adopt positions which defend the environment but oppose the control of the numbers of people — the multipliers of environmental problems. Coupling an ethic of high fertility with today's medically efficient methods of death control, gives us the demographic disaster now in the making for the world. This is true whether the group is Muslim or Mormon, Hispanic or Hindu.

— John H. Tanton, Editor and Publisher

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Washington Editor Roy Beck has had considerable experience in tracking the efforts of religious groups to influence social policy. From 1980 to 1987, he reported on religion and politics as associate editor and international traveling correspondent for the national United Methodist Reporter *newspaper and the interdenominational* National Christian Reporter. *His efforts — such as breaking the refugee 'sanctuary' story in the U.S., and investigations of the Religious Right and the National Council of Churches — won national ecumenical press honors and the United Methodist Church's first 'Communicator of the Year' award. His book,* On Thin Ice, *(Bristol, 1988), explored the difficulties of the Religious Right and Religious Left in maintaining intellectual integrity while engaged in collective religious social action during the 1980s. He currently is completing a* Handbook on Churches' Washington Advocacy Offices *to be published this spring.*

Religions and the Environment:

Commitment High Until U.S. Population Issues Raised

by Roy Beck

The Earth is the Lord's, and people of faith must ensure that it is properly cared for — including curbing humankind's overpopulating ways, according to a powerful consensus that has emerged among America's religious leaders.

Officials from virtually every major faith and denomination in the country have been proclaiming in high-profile ways that protection and restoration of the natural environment is a top-priority spiritual mandate. Especially visible the last two years has been the new Joint Appeal By Religion And Science For The Environment (see boxes on pages 77 and 85). It has issued major statements that include population concerns and even the signatures of Catholic and Baptist representatives.

But an informal survey by *The Social Contract* discovered that despite the proclamations, the protection of natural resources within U.S. boundaries is not a top-priority action within religious leadership circles.

While sampling policies within the seven major U.S. religious groupings (see chart on page 79), *The Social Contract* failed to find a single denomination willing to preserve American eco-systems if it means tackling U.S. population growth.

True, large numbers of religious organizations and offices with paid staff have arisen to take some very specific actions that go far beyond merely avoiding styrofoam cups at church coffee hours. The rising tide of green religious groups forcefully advocates reducing per capita impact through the kinds of strict regulations and consumption cuts necessary if any industrial nation is to achieve sustainable, high environmental quality.

However, while many churches acknowledge population growth as a critical factor in the world's environment, few churches even have statements that specifically note population as a factor in the welfare of the United States. Religious green leaders concentrate on reducing per capita impact while standing mute as the number of U.S. "capitas" soars. One begins to wonder if the strategy is to stop world population growth and world environmental degradation without any individual countries having to take action within their own borders.

RELIGIOUS GREENS UNFAZED BY 383 MILLION IN U.S.

Religious greens appear quite willing — whether unwittingly or intentionally — to allow the number of people impacting the U.S. environment to rise another 128 million to 383 million by 2050.

In fact, many of the religious offices — especially of the mainline Protestants, the historic peace churches, Jews, and Roman Catholics — have actively contributed to the fast-rising population through unswerving support of renewed mass immigration. Federal immigration policies will be responsible for almost all of the next 128 million people. (U.S. population would have peaked at 243 million in 2035 if not for post-1970 immigrants and their descendants, according to *The Social Contract* study

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Excerpts from the Joint Appeal in Religion and Science June 3, 1991

"We believe a consensus now exists, at the highest level of leadership across a significant spectrum of religious traditions, that the cause of environmental integrity and justice must occupy a position of utmost priority for people of faith."

"...we declare here and now that steps must be taken toward...measures to protect continued biological diversity; and concerted efforts to slow the dramatic and dangerous growth in world population through empowering both women and men, encouraging economic self-sufficiency, and making family planning services available to all who may consider them on a strictly voluntary basis."

"No effort, however heroic, to deal with these global conditions and the interrelated issues of social justice can succeed unless we address the increasing population of the Earth..."

From "Statement of Religious Leaders at the Summit on Environment," signed by 24 people, notably including Father Drew Christiansen of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the national social issues organization totally controlled by the U.S. Catholic Bishops. Other signers included the Rev. Robert Schuller of the Crystal Cathedral, Chief Oren Lyons of the Turtle Clan of the Onondaga Nation, and leaders of the Rabbinical Council of America, the evangelical World Vision USA, and of the American Baptist, United Methodist, Greek Orthodox, Episcopal, Evangelical Lutheran, and National Baptist denominations.

prepared a year ago by demographer Leon Bouvier. Instead, immigration already has driven U.S. population to 255 million today and threatens to push it to 383 million by 2050, with no end in sight.)

Like the churches, few environmental groups have aggressively sought to limit U.S. population growth in recent years. But their actions have tended toward neutrality. Many church groups, though, aggressively *promote* rapid population growth, some doing so despite having U.S. population stability as an official goal. Through congressional testimony, teaching resources and media statements, faith groups consistently have supported higher immigration and refugee admissions while opposing most proposals to stop illegal immigration.

SURVEYING THE SEVEN RELIGIONS OF AMERICA

Even in today's increasingly secularized American society, religious thought and conviction remain an important part of most political equations. Gallup polls have found that more than 90 percent of Americans consider themselves religious in some way. More than 60 percent of Americans routinely participate in religious events; and on any given weekend, 40 percent of Americans can be found at a religious service, according to Gallup polling. Americans are by far the most outwardly religious people of any industrialized nation.

The seven major religious groupings listed on the chart account for at least 157 million Americans. Most major public policy decisions ultimately are supported or rejected by the citizenry based on their perceptions not only of self-interest but of morality — a morality presumably guided in part by religious institutions.

To gain a solid indication of the attitudes and actions of American religious leaders about population and immigration issues that affect the environment, one or two of the most representative denominations were surveyed from each of the seven groupings.

The following section contains excerpts from documents and interviews within each of the groupings.

Orthodox (Christian)

"Probably we would side with that thinking that says we don't want to talk about curtailing any part of the population in any way because it is contrary to our theology," said Father Milton Efthimiou, head of the Greek Orthodox social issues department in New York City.

Although he signed the most recent Joint Appeal By Religion and Science For The Environment statement, which expressed concerns about population, Efthimiou said: "We (Greek Orthodox) really have not come out on the issue of population ... Curtailing population is not the answer to hunger and other problems."

He noted that the top leader of worldwide Orthodoxy issued an encyclical on ecology and the

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need to respect the environment. It did not have a population element, he said.

The Greek Orthodox Church is the largest of two dozen Orthodox denominations in this country, containing nearly half the U.S. Orthodox members. The 4.5 million U.S. Orthodox Christians retain heavy ethnic identities with their Eastern European and Middle East immigrant backgrounds, but Efthimiou said his denomination has no official stance on immigration and does not lobby for admissions.

"We leave immigration issues up to the government. It is not an ethical, ecclesiological issue as far as we are concerned," he said.

Islam

As with the Orthodox, population and immigration (and to some extent environmental) issues just aren't part of the U.S. Islamic agenda.

On the international level, however, Islamic leadership has begun to give serious consideration to population questions, particularly within countries where Muslims dominate. The Aceh Declaration was signed in February 1990 in Aceh, Indonesia by representatives of 24 Muslim nations and nine "ulamas of Islam." Rather than treating overpopulation as a global problem that must be solved by some ill-defined international community with questionable power, the Aceh Declaration seeks solutions by individual countries where governments already have the power to act. It urges all Muslim countries "to formulate population policies," something the United States has yet to do. It also urges the eradication of illiteracy among women and the provision of accessible family planning, including safe contraceptives.

In a statement that may have relevance to the morality of Americans moving to protect their own eco-systems, the Muslim leaders recognized "the sovereign right of each country to establish in the context of Islam its own population policies and programs responding to country-specific needs while mindful that national action or inaction in population may have effects that extend beyond national boundaries."

The final declaration of the Aceh document:

- "emphasizes the responsibilities towards future generations, in particular in the field of population, where the decisions and actions of one generation influences to a significant degree the quality of life of future generations."
- "acknowledges that population, resources and the environment are inextricably linked and stresses our commitment to bringing about a balanced and sustainable relationship among them."
- "expresses concern that while some Muslim countries may afford to increase their population, for most countries, rapid population growth, unplanned migration and urbanization, increasing degradation of the environment threaten the process of their development and the welfare of their people."

But these remarkable declarations have not been adopted by the U.S. Islamic community as a guideline for public policy in this country.

"We have a term that means "only God knows," said Fareed Nu-man from the Washington, DC headquarters of the American Muslim Council. "We don't particularly worry about population. We believe it is in God's hands. If the population gets too big for the world to bear, the natural order will take care of it through famine, disease, etc."

In terms of individual behavior that affects population size, Nu-Man said Islamic teaching encourages American men to avoid having children if they can't care for them, but also that they shouldn't put their career ahead of family. Nu-Man said U.S. Muslims disagree among themselves about the appropriateness of contraceptives: "I believe it is necessary in some instances. If I have a very fertile wife and she is pregnant every year, that can be very harmful to her body."

"We don't particularly worry about population. We believe it is in God's hands. If the population gets too big for the world to bear, the natural order will take care of it through famine, disease, etc."

The estimated 5 million U.S. Muslims attend more than 800 mosques, many of which are affiliated either with the National Islamic Conference or the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) which have annual conventions that approve resolutions on social issues. "I've not heard anybody raise population issues at these conventions," said

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Environment/Population Stances of U.S. Religious Leadership							
CHURCH GROUPS Members (Millions)	ROMAN CATHOLIC 59	BAPTIST, EVANGELICAL, PENTECOSTAL 46	LIBERAL PROTESTANT 34	ISLAM 5	ORTHODOX (EASTERN CHRISTIAN) 4.5	LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMON) 4.3	JUDAISM 4
Structure/ Make-up	One Unified Church	Scores of Denominations	Two Dozen Faith Groups	Two or Three National Groups	Two Dozen Denominations	One Unified Church	Three Major Branches
Major Constituent Groups		Baptist, Churches of Christ, Nazarene...	Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal...		Greek, Coptic, Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian...		Orthodox, Conservative, Reformed.
WORLD POPULATION STABILIZATION	Favor Passively	No Stance	Favor Strongly	No Stance	Oppose Passively	Oppose Passively	Favor Strongly
QUALITY OF ENVIRONMENT	Favor Strongly	Beginning to Favor	Favor Aggressively	Favor Passively	Favor Passively	Favor Passively	Favor Strongly
U.S. POPULATION STABILIZATION	No Stance	No Stance, Inclined to Oppose	Favor Passively	No Stance	Oppose Passively	Oppose Passively	Inclined to Oppose
ENCOURAGE MIGRANTS TO STAY AT ORIGINS	Oppose	Inclined to Favor	Oppose	No Stance	No Stance	Favor	Oppose
RESTRICT U.S. IMMIGRATION TO HISTORIC LEVELS (300,000)	Oppose Aggressively	Oppose Passively	Oppose Aggressively	No Stance	No Stance	No Stance	Oppose Aggressively

Abdallah Cheikh from the ISNA headquarters in Indianapolis.

Contrary to what might first be perceived, Islam is not as much an immigrant-based religion as Christian Orthodoxy. Some 42 percent of the 5 million U.S. Muslims are American blacks, most with long histories in this country. The next largest group is South Asians (24 percent), followed by Arabs (12 percent) and Africans (5 percent), according to a study by the American Muslim Council.

Cheikh said he is unaware of any official stance on immigration or population: "These are important issues, but they aren't priorities. There are more important things."

Mormon

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon) does not support population-control proposals.

"We feel those who propose such curbs would be wiser to devote their energies to strengthening home life and proven codes of moral conduct in order to disperse the clouds of uncertainty hanging so gloomily over the world," said Don LeFevre, spokesman for the church from the Salt Lake City headquarters.

Birth control is a matter for couples to decide under "inspiration from the Lord," and they are neither encouraged nor discouraged from having large families if they can afford them, LeFevre said.

Like the Muslims and Orthodox, the 4.3 million Mormons are not represented in Washington by leaders calling for particular immigration policies. But the Mormon approach is less neutral than those other two groups and is somewhat at odds with the assertion of immigration-advocacy religions which encourage immigration to this country as a right of economic justice.

"The church encourages its members to remain in their native lands to build up and strengthen the church there," LeFevre said. "Early in our church

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history, converts abroad were encouraged to come here and build up the church here. But no longer."

If Mormons in other countries decide to move to the United States, "they must follow legal procedures and obtain immigrant visas," LeFevre said. "Individual members of the church in the U.S. likely act as sponsors of immigrants on occasion, but they do so at their own volition, rather than at the encouragement of the church. There is a difference between immigrants and refugees. The church has, on occasion, participated in the relocation of refugees."

Baptist/Evangelical/ Fundamentalist/Pentecostal

Few of the scores of denominations within this religious grouping have spoken out on population, immigration, or even the environment.

That is not particularly surprising; this second-largest bloc of religious Americans traditionally has included the least politically active of Americans. During much of U.S. history, significant portions of this group have questioned whether politics was too worldly to even bother with. That began to change among many black members during the Civil Rights movement and among larger numbers with the rise of the Religious Right during the 1970s.

Consisting of at least 46 million Christians, this religious grouping is the most ethnically diverse of all religious groups, including most of the historically black churches, fast-growing evangelical Asian congregations, and large numbers of immigrants from the booming Latin American Pentecostal movement. The range of theology among these Christians is fairly broad, but they generally subscribe to what most Americans would consider conservative theologies that emphasize conversion and personal experience with God.

Evangelism, not social action, tends to be the top priority throughout these churches.

Such is the case for the rapidly-growing Assemblies of God, the second largest and most institutionalized of the Pentecostal denominations. "I don't believe we've ever made a statement on population or immigration," said the Rev. Joseph Flower, the church's general secretary, from the Springfield, Mo., headquarters.

But church leaders do have advice for Pentecostals around the world who express an interest in immigrating to the United States. Even though most come from economically poor groups in underdeveloped nations, the brother and sister Pentecostals are asked to bloom where they've been planted: "We encourage them to stay and be witnesses where they are," Flower said.

The Pentecostal/Evangelical denominations, along with the Roman Catholic Church, stand to benefit the most from immigration through new members. When that was mentioned to Flower as a reason why the Assemblies of God might also get involved in encouraging more open immigration rules, he replied, "We wouldn't consider that a worthy motive."

"Our general feeling is that as long as they are not suffering too much, they should stay and witness where they live. For example, we've had quite a few Russian immigrants in recent years before the changeover. We helped them because some were really political refugees. But we didn't encourage them. They can witness to Russians much better than missionaries can."

"Our general feeling is that as long as they are not suffering too much, [Assemblies of God members] should stay and witness where they live."

The Southern Baptist Convention is the most likely of all denominations in this religious grouping to speak out on social issues. With more than 15 million members, it is the giant — larger than any other single American faith group except the Roman Catholic Church. Like the Catholics and liberal Protestants, Southern Baptists have their own political advocacy office in Washington DC.

Many members are not yet convinced that environmentalism isn't an anti-Christian philosophy since it includes so much idolatry in worshipping the creation instead of the Creator, explained Jim Smith, head of the Washington office. The denomination's social action agency has sponsored major activities and educational materials the last two years to help Southern Baptists embrace a God-centered ethic of stewardship for natural resources that avoids what many feel to be New Age theological underpinnings in popular environmentalism.

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"As a denomination, we are still ambivalent about the specter of overpopulation, and there are many in the denomination who consider that to be a myth," said Ben Mitchell, ethicist in the social action agency office in Nashville. "We are not in any way opposed to methods of birth control that don't include abortifacients."

But Smith added that the membership is divided on family planning issues: "There are those who would be very sympathetic to environmental and population goals. Probably overall, though, most Southern Baptists would not feel that population is a crucial issue in the environmental framework. Our office gets criticism from members when we talk at all about family planning. They think it is anti-biblical."

Southern Baptists have no immigration policies and do not promote U.S. population growth by lobbying for high immigration.

Judaism

The religious Action Center of Reform Judaism recently helped found the 'Joint Appeal By Religion and Science For The Environment' organization to coalesce a greater body of religious leaders behind environmental and population issues.

"The Jewish community has a many-thousand-year-old religious concern for protecting God's creation, so for us this is a religious obligation," said Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Washington, D.C. center which represents approximately 850 Reform congregations with about 1.5 million members.

A spokeswoman at the center said America's Reform Jews have had official stances since 1965 about the world's exploding population and the goodness and importance of birth control and family planning.

But when asked if members support U.S. population stabilization if it means limiting immigration, she answered, "My general sense is that we feel the United States has a special responsibility for persecuted people and to open its arms."

Some 4 million of the 6 million ethnic Jews in the United States are affiliated with a synagogue. Like so many of the Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Catholics, they are tied to recent personal immigration histories and ethnic heritages. Because of Jewish refugee experiences for centuries (especially the Nazi era), refugee issues ring with a special resonance within Judaism and its "do not mistreat the alien, for you were once an alien" scriptural foundation. The ethnic experience remains fresh; although Jews account for less than 3 percent of the U.S. population, between a quarter and a third of all refugees settled in this country in recent years have been Jewish.

"On a worldwide scale, it is not clear that immigration hurts the environment," wrote Gary E. Rubin of the American Jewish Committee in a major paper about the ethics of immigration in 1991. He dismissed concerns about a single nation's population effect on specific eco-systems contained in specific estuaries, wetlands and forests in specific countries by saying: "More basically, environmental concerns are by their nature international; they cannot be addressed within the immigration or any other policy of one nation. Pollution, natural resource use and human migration all cross international borders."

Roman Catholic

No religious group wields more power on behalf of high immigration to the U.S. than the Catholic Church. Thanks to the 1880-1914 and 1970-present Great Waves of immigration consisting primarily of Catholics, the church towers over all other American religious groups. Its 59 million members give it immense financial, institutional and political clout, even though polls suggest the majority of its members probably don't agree with its pro-immigration stances. (See page 98ff for an in depth look at Catholic thought.)

At times, it can seem as though the church is engaged in population competition. In a recent news story, Father Richard J. Ryscavage noted that immigration is the "growing edge of Catholicism in the United States." He is executive director of the Migration and Refugee Services of the U.S. Catholic Conference which resettles about 40 percent of all refugees into this country each year.

"We are in the middle of a huge wave of immigration ... and most of them are Catholics," Ryscavage said. "It's the key to our future and the key to why the Church is going to be very healthy in the 21st century."

There also are recurring signs that Catholic agencies aid illegal aliens in various communities. A notable example was the production in 1989 by the

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Archdiocese of New York of a "survival book" that offered tips to illegal Irish aliens on how to avoid federal immigration agents. In Southern California, many Catholic clergy are outspoken expounders about the immorality of laws that limit Latin Americans from crossing the U.S. border and taking up residence.

"We are in the middle of a huge wave of immigration...and most of them are Catholics. It's the key to our future and the key to why the [Roman] Church is going to be very healthy in the 21st century."

Nonetheless, the church is not as pro-population growth as critics sometimes paint it to be. The U.S. Catholic bishops took a significant step toward elevating a theology of environmental stewardship with a paper in November 1991. "Even though it is possible to feed a growing population, the ecological costs of doing so ought to be taken into account. ... Our mistreatment of the natural world diminishes our own dignity and sacredness, not only because we are destroying resources that future generations of humans need, but because we are engaging in actions that contradict what it means to be human," the bishops said.

The bishops quoted Pope Paul VI: "It is true that too frequently an accelerated demographic increase adds its own difficulties to the problems of development: the size of population increases more rapidly than the available resources." And Pope John Paul II: "One cannot deny the existence, especially in the Southern Hemisphere, of a demographic problem which creates difficulties for development."

The bishops spoke glowingly of education, good nutrition, and health care for women and children that "promise to improve family welfare and contribute to stabilizing population."

However, they did not back away from the church's traditional teaching against the use of artificial birth control and abortion to control population growth. Nor did they specifically acknowledge that each nation has a right or obligation to stabilize its own population.

Particularly encouraging was the bishops' statement that environmental responsibility included not only practical measures such as safeguarding endangered species and the ability of the land to feed a hungry world, but more aesthetic measures such as "to preserve remaining wilderness" and "to maintain landscapes in integrity."

Liberal Protestant

"Population policy is an integral aspect of social reform. (We urge) Congress to establish a national policy of stabilizing population size...," the Presbyterian General Assembly declared in 1972.

The policy is illustrative of the long history of leadership on population issues from the leaders of 34 million Christians in this large Protestant grouping. The preponderance of religious leadership on environment, population and immigration has come from the two dozen denominations in this grouping.

Most are known as mainline or oldline Protestants. They are least representative of America's mass immigration history. The ancestors of most of them immigrated somewhat gradually over a period of two and a half centuries. Mainline Protestants include most descendants of the Protestant Americans who created and totally dominated the society before mass immigration began in 1880.

This group often is referred to as "liberal Protestant" because the leadership of national agencies is forcefully liberal on social issues and its clergy tend toward more liberal theology. But polls find that the membership of the mainline Protestant denominations has continued to form the backbone of the Republican Party.

Also part of the liberal Protestant grouping are some half-million members of the so-called peace churches: Quakers, Brethren and Mennonites. Though small in number, they are like Jewish Americans in having a disproportionate impact on public policy discussion because of highly organized advocacy groups. The little peace churches have as many staff in Capitol Hill lobbying offices as the total of Washington staffs representing the 46-million Baptist/Evangelical/Pentecostal group of Americans.

The office for Quakers says they are "looking for a global community in which all people can choose freely where they wish to live and work... The long-range ideal is open borders."

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In the short-term, the Quaker office says, there is a need for increasing immigration, admitting all refugees seeking asylum, and an end to deportations and employer sanctions.

As with their pacifism activities, the peace churches tend to occupy the far end of the political spectrum on many issues. But they function as something of a conscience for mainline Protestant leaders who struggle between personal idealism and the conservatism of their constituencies.

Mainline Protestant leaders' advocacy for the environment and immigration reaches toward idealism on both but fails to reconcile where the two conflict. The Presbyterian Church may be the most striking example of this.

No other denomination appears to have been as eloquent and bold in pointing out the need for population stabilization as the Presbyterians:

- "[The Presbyterian Church] urges all agencies concerned with international cooperation, including the government of the United States, to be ready to assist countries who request help in the development of programs of voluntary planned parenthood as a practical and humane means of controlling fertility and population growth," the General Assembly stated in 1965.
- By 1971, it recognized the uncomfortable reality that reliance on private, voluntary decisions "will not be sufficient to provide the necessary limitation of population growth unless there is a radical and rapid change in the attitudes and desires. The church must commit itself to effecting this change. The assumption that couples have the freedom to have as many children as they can support should be challenged. We can no longer justify bringing into existence as many children as we desire. Our corporate responsibility to each other prohibits this. Given the population crisis we must recognize and teach, beginning with ourselves, that man has an obligation to limit the size of his family."
- In 1972, Presbyterians called on the civil community "to take such actions as will stabilize population size... We who are motivated by the urgency of over-population rather than the prospect of decimation would preserve the species by responding in faith: Do not multiply — the earth is filled!"

Such statements continue through to the present. But throughout the 1980s, Presbyterians also were taking strong stands on many immigration issues which would have, or have, led to increased U.S. population.

"The assumption that couples have the freedom to have as many children as they can support should be challenged... Given the population crisis we must...teach that man has an obligation to limit the size of his family."

Some statements recognized competing issues, although none addressed the population/environment implications. The 1986 General Assembly, for example, recognized "the responsibility of governments, including ours, to regulate immigration into their territories." It also noted that governments would need to balance humanitarian concerns for potential immigrants with "the social and economic needs of its people."

During the last decade, Presbyterian leaders have taken the following actions which entail population growth as an effect:

- Favored increases in overall annual immigration to speed up "reunification of separated families."
- Opposed eliminating immigration preferences for brothers, sisters and adult children of earlier immigrants.
- Opposed an immigration ceiling that would include immediate relatives of U.S. residents.
- Actively campaigned to grant asylum to millions of people who illegally entered the country before 1982.
- Complained that illegal aliens who arrived during the rest of the '80s have not also been granted asylum.
- Advocated laws to allow for greater immigration from Mexico "whose people have special claims on U.S. society."
- Supported legislation suspending deportation of Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Haitians and Guatemalans who entered the country illegally and were deemed ineligible for asylum.
- Expressed distress that asylum was not given to more Salvadorans, Afghans and Haitians.
- Protested interdiction of Haitian migrants at sea.

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- Opposed efforts to deport Ethiopians.
- Called for expedited resettlement of 250,000 remaining refugees in Southeast Asian camps.
- Urged temporary or permanent resettlement of 1.5 million refugees in the Horn of Africa.
- Affirmed that the "best and most durable solution for most refugees remains voluntary repatriation when conditions permit safe return," but recognized "that resettlement often remains the only available solution adequate for the safety and survival of refugees." Urged congregations to "continue and increase refugee resettlement efforts."
- Opposed federal policies that placed more of the cost of refugee resettlement on the churches which are doing the settling.
- Opposed any policy that would guide where refugees are resettled.
- Opposed any increases in immigration fees to cover the cost of enforcement or monitoring.
- Affirmed efforts to provide assistance to illegal aliens and to help foreign citizens cross U.S. borders illegally.
- Opposed sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens.
- Expressed concern about worker identification cards that would help employers turn away illegal aliens without discriminating against legal residents who look or sound foreign.
- Sought to increase access for Mexicans to jobs in the United States.

The Presbyterian experience was repeated in various ways in other liberal Protestant denominations in which immigration has become the latest extension of the civil rights crusade waged so successfully by churches for three decades. Environmental consequences of immigration have had little opportunity to emerge in that milieu.

The United Methodist Board of Church and Society provides an illustration of that. It once devoted an entire department to population issues. The denomination long has been on record calling "on the United States government to develop a national population policy that would include the goal of stabilizing the United States population, and recommendations on population distribution and land and resource use."

The Washington advocacy office still distributes booklets that quote church policies:

- "Christians have no alternative to involvement in seeking solutions for the great and complex set of problems which faces the world today. All these issues are closely interrelated: hunger, poverty, denial of human rights, economic exploitation and overconsumption by the rich, technologies that are inadequate or inappropriate, depletion of resources, and rapid population growth."
- "Rapidly swelling numbers of humankind are making it increasingly difficult to solve the other interconnected problems ... clearly we do know there can be too many people."
- "...nations must be free to develop policies in keeping with their own needs and cultures."
- "The church should exert leadership in making possible the safe and legal availability of sterilization procedures for both men and women, and of abortion where appropriate."
- "...churches need to keep before people the moral reasons why we need to be concerned with the population problem."

Apparently the church has not kept those reasons all that visible, even before its leaders. The United Methodists no longer have a population department or specialist. Jaydee Hanson, executive of the environmental justice department, said United Methodist advocacy has continued calling strongly for sustainable development, primarily through reduced consumption by Americans and stressing the need for economic equity and justice to bring down fertility rates.

"Don't get me wrong, population is still an important factor in the United States," Hanson said. "But I have to be honest that it isn't where this department puts its main effort. Immigration is the main cause of U.S. population growth. I don't think we've ever made statements on the numbers of immigrants... We've been criticized by some of the people from the population groups of 20 years ago for not working enough on population... If you want U.S. population not to increase, you have to get serious about development in Mexico and Central America."

Immigration stances of liberal Protestant denominations are driven not by their environmental experts and committees but primarily by their substantial refugee/immigration agencies.

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IMMIGRATION IS MORAL PRIORITY OVER ENVIRONMENT

The survey found no example of any denomination wrestling with the contradictions of its stated top-priority support for improving the environment *and* for continued mass immigration and high U.S. population growth. But there currently is no question that the de facto — if not intentional — policy of the activist faith groups is to give priority to immigration any time it collides with environmental values.

Why? This article, and this issue of *The Social Contract*, represent an initial step in exploring U.S. religious thought and behavior on these issues. One can only guess how much change would occur if these contradictions began to be considered seriously by theologians, ethicists and other religious leaders. At this time, however, the following appear to be the primary reasons America's religious leaders are unwilling to protect the environment by confronting U.S. population growth:

Excerpts from the Joint Appeal in Religion and Science May 12, 1992

"We...call upon our government to change national policy so that the United States will begin to ease, not continue to increase, the burdens on our biosphere and their effect on the planet's people."

"...it seems clear that addressing this problem now rather than later makes economic as well as moral sense."

"We believe the poor and vulnerable workers in our own land should not be asked to bear disproportionate burdens."

"We commit ourselves to work together for a United States that will lead the world in...halting deforestation and slowing the decline in species diversity..."

"We believe there is a need for concerted efforts to stabilize world population by humane, responsible and voluntary means consistent with our differing values."

From "Declaration of the Mission to Washington," signed by 50 scientists and 50 religious leaders, the most notable additions to the 1991 signers being representatives of the Southern Baptist, Progressive Baptist, Unitarian-Universalist, United Church of Christ and Presbyterian denominations, as well as several more high officials of Jewish and Catholic institutions.

(1) Matthew 25: 31-56. The Parable of the Last Judgment.

Spoken just before his trial and crucifixion, Jesus described a time in which the Son of Man would gather "all nations" before him and separate "the people" into the blessed and the damned. To those on his left, he will say, "Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me nothing to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I needed clothes and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison and you did not look after me." The damned will ask when they ever had seen the Lord in those conditions, and the answer will be, "Whatever you did not do for one of the least of these, you did not do for me."

This is one of the bedrock scriptural bases for Christian living. Interestingly, the more liberal the Christian denomination, the more likely it is that officials will interpret this scripture in a literal and fundamentalist way. The great fear, as propounded in their teachings, is that any "stranger" prohibited from crossing U.S. borders for permanent residency may in effect be Jesus. The literal interpretation would be that in turning away the stranger at the gate, Americans risk eternal damnation (see page 104 for how the scripture is used in Australia).

The United Methodist Council of Bishops pledged: "God comes in the form of the sojourner... we invite all those whose hearts are as ours to join hands with us in declaring our uncompromising intention to welcome the sojourners in our midst."

(2) Leviticus 19: 33-34. The "do not mistreat the alien, for you were once an alien" code.

Religious immigration advocates often marvel that in the midst of the narrow legalisms of the Levitical Code for the ancient Israelites, there is this call for universalism: "When an alien lives with you in your land, do not mistreat him. The alien living with you must be treated as one of your native-born. Love him as yourself, for you were aliens in Egypt. I am the Lord your God."

This law, which is attributed to God as spoken

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to Moses, is not explicit on whether the alien is to be treated as a native-born for the rest of his life or simply in some kind of temporary protected status, but immigration advocates tend to interpret it as requiring granting to strangers at the gate permanent residency in the United States with all rights of citizenship.

There is little evidence of attempts within the Jewish and Christian communities to reconcile these types of verses with other scriptural teachings that relate to preserving the creation, protecting health, and treating natural resources as a loan that can be passed down to future generations.

(3) Anti-abortion theology.

Although most liberal Protestant and Jewish leaders endorse full legal rights and availability of abortion, leaders of the majority of religious Americans strongly oppose abortion. They tend to see efforts to control population growth as necessarily including abortion. Thus, they either oppose population stabilization or stay out of the debate.

"The pro-population-stabilization churches...are among the loudest voices for high immigration which causes nearly all U.S. population growth."

The pro-life theology that dismisses various "practical" arguments for abortion, such as the inability of a mother or of society to properly provide for a child, commonly refers to the power of God to care for all human life no matter what the practical difficulties are. There is a tendency on population matters for the more conservative people of faith to use the same reasoning to suggest that the limits of population size should be left to God, not humans. That adds another reason for them not to bother with the population issue, despite its impact on the environment.

A major irony is that some of the religious groups that are neutral or even oppose trying to stabilize the population in actuality are more helpful to U.S. population stabilization than are those denominations that favor stabilization. The anti-population-control churches don't lobby for high immigration, and some discourage foreign members from immigrating. The pro-population-stabilization churches, on the other hand, are among the loudest voices for the high immigration which causes nearly all U.S. population growth.

(4) White-affluent-American guilt.

Most denominational offices with leaders speaking out on population/immigration issues ascribe to a worldview in which the United States, through irresponsible military and economic actions, is to blame for a lot of the suffering in the world. Thus, it is unconscionable for the creator of misery to block victims from seeking better lives by moving to live in the eco-systems of the United States. Some religious leaders with this view acknowledge that the country would be better off without massive immigration, but suggest the numbers should not be cut artificially. They are willing to wait until U.S. efforts to help underdeveloped nations succeed in raising living conditions high enough there to shut off the desire for people to move to the United States.

The acceptance of historically unprecedented numbers of immigrants is considered by many to be a form of foreign aid that fulfills some of the country's moral debt to the rest of the world.

Within this worldview and theology is the belief of many religious environmentalists that it is selfish for Americans to place a priority on preserving the natural world within their own borders until environmental and economic conditions are brought closer to parity in the rest of the world. The environment is a priority goal as long as the means toward that end involve changes in Americans' resource-sinful lifestyles, and in a reduction in their fertility. Under this strain of thinking, it is not right to deny millions of poor aliens entry even if their presence leads to accelerated loss of bio-diversity and permanent damage to natural wonders.

When the population implications of massive immigration are raised, many liberal Protestant leaders suggest the remedy is for Americans to reduce their births by one more for each immigrant allowed entry. This also fits well within a multiculturalism philosophy that values increasing the numbers of ethnic minorities within the United States to give them more political control and to dilute the European-descendent hegemony that has produced so many immoral international actions and

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the American patterns of overconsumption.

(5) Globalism

"As Christians, we recognize that the boundaries of God's kingdom are not the same as the boundaries of nations," the Presbyterian Church has stated. "Citizenship in this kingdom, which comes through faith in Jesus Christ, is based on a radically different standard than the nations of the world. In God's kingdom, national borders have no ultimacy."

Those lines were directed particularly at the responsibility of U.S. Christians to help people in other lands generously, but also to question U.S. laws limiting Mexican migration.

U.S. Catholic bishops have stated: "The right to migrate for work cannot be simply ignored in the exercise of a nation's sovereign right to control its own borders. In this regard, Catholic social teaching sets a higher ethical standard for guarding the rights of the undocumented within our borders than does current U.S. law and policy."

(6) Ignorance/naivete.

It is difficult to judge the intention or depth of conviction behind most U.S. religious leaders' population beliefs because there does not appear to have been much careful and strenuous consideration of the issues. When questioned about population during this survey, religious leaders not heavily involved with environmental issues were surprised, citing Ben Wattenberg's late-1980s fears that the United States might soon suffer a declining population. And many of the religious environmentalists appeared to be unaware of the work of the Sierra Club and others concerning the limits of pollution improvements that can be gained through non-draconian lifestyle changes, and of the additional per capita cuts that will be required if U.S. population doubles. In fact, the concept of doubling-times and other mathematical factors seems scarcely to have been considered. Religious leaders do not appear to have given a thought to how the environmental quality of life will be changed for their children in 2050 as a result of current conditions that will have almost doubled the U.S. population from the 203 million that Earth Day 1970 leaders considered already too high.

LEADERSHIP AND LAITY DIFFER

Religious leaders apparently have yet to convince their grassroots members that environmental quality has a lower priority than mass immigration. The majority of religious Americans appear to put a priority on caring for the environment and restricting immigration despite the lack of a single national religious group taking that stance.

One strong indication of this is that a long series of opinion polls has found some two-thirds of Americans supporting immigration reductions. Because more than two-thirds of Americans are affiliated with religious bodies, the likelihood is that the majority of church, synagogue and mosque members favor more immigration restrictions instead of the neutrality or active immigration promotion of their religious leaders.

"More than two-thirds of Christians [polled by Gallup] objected to present mass immigration. Less than 5 percent of Christians supported the expansion of immigration..."

A Gallup poll taken in February, 1992 helped confirm that likelihood. It did not have a large enough sample of Jews, Muslims or individual Protestant denominations to judge opinions reliably within each of those groups. But the sampling of all Christians and people who said they had no religion was statistically reliable. What Gallup found was that Christians were far more likely than non-religious Americans to oppose current mass immigration.

Furthermore, Gallup found no statistical difference between Catholics and Protestants, even though immigration for a century has consisted primarily of Catholics. More than two-thirds of Christians objected to present mass immigration. Less than 5 percent of Christians supported the expansion of immigration that would be the result of policies advocated by many liberal Protestant and Catholic groups.

One question commonly raised about polls is whether Americans would answer the same way if the issue were framed more in moral terms. This journalist participated in just such an experiment in

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1983. The *United Methodist Reporter*, with a half-million subscribers nationwide, devoted 114 column inches to the competing issues. Articles were evenly divided between moral arguments made by proponents for generosity to the "stranger" in the immigration lines, and for stabilizing the U.S. population to protect the environment and low-wage Americans. Included was a list of questions that asked the reader to make the tough choices of balancing two conflicting "good" options, the kind of practical exercise that governments go through all the time.

Readers were asked: "Recognizing that a good case can be made for both basic positions on U.S. immigration policy, which do you believe should receive first-priority support among Christians?"

Only 18 percent of the responding United Methodists gave priority to "generous immigration," the priority of their top national leaders then and today. But 78 percent gave priority to "strict limits on immigration in order to stabilize U.S. population growth." An opinion pollster at Southern Methodist University judged the results significant in predicting the majority will of the 9 million United Methodists.

National church leaders appeared out of step even with the overall clergy, 59 percent of whom supported population stabilization over immigration when the two conflict. That choice garnered 78 percent of laywomen and 84 percent of laymen. Every age group of the laity gave priority to population/environment over immigration.

On another question, United Methodists by 73 percent to 17 percent gave first priority to the welfare of persons already in the United States over immigrants fleeing their homelands in search of a new life or reunion with family members.

William E. Gibson, senior editor of *The Egg: An Eco-Justice Quarterly*, noted that when a major environmental position paper was presented to the national Presbyterian governing body in 1990, the grassroots representatives insisted on moving population references to near the top.

"I think that was a clue to the fact that within the laity, they are very concerned about population," he said.

All these survey results raise a question about whether the opinions and actions of religious leaders make any difference, since they so obviously have not swayed the majority of followers. But Jim Dorcy, senior government relations associate of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, says religious leaders wield great influence because immigration/population/environment decisions are made by elected officials, not popular vote. Every time choices have to be made, he says, religious leaders speak forcefully in Washington to provide the moral undergirding for decisions that increase immigration and U.S. population growth. Because of religious leaders' efforts, prioritizing high immigration over environmental concerns typically is seen as the moral high ground in the nation's capital, he said.

IT'S TIME TO DETAIL MORAL OPTIONS

It remains to be seen whether the moral high ground established by the activist Catholics, mainline Protestants, peace churches and Jews is mere moral symbolism or a guide that actually can bring about a moral reality. The religious leaders simply have not laid out in detail what Americans must do both to protect ecosystems and to keep the doors widely open for mass immigration.

They will move the moral debate along considerably by sharing their answers to these among other questions:

- In general, these religious activists have indicated their preference that Americans reduce their material lifestyles and their fertility to make room for immigrants. By how much? And what are all the ways?
- What are the calculations that determine how much Americans will have to give up to meet the religious leaders' various goals?
- How much do Americans need to reduce their fertility below replacement level to meet those goals?
- What incentives and disincentives should be used to persuade Americans to make those fertility changes, especially when recent fertility trends are upward? (Most denominations and faith groups have spoken against even mild forms of coercion such as tax incentives.)
- Will the denominations ask Americans to make fertility decisions that they do not now teach their own church members to do? (*The Social Contract* has yet to find a religious group with a program to teach its members to limit families to two children, let alone one that advocates a larger percentage of one-child families to make room for immigrants.)

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• What are the social and psychological implications for Americans of the impact of 383 million people on their access to parks and open spaces and additional restrictions on individual freedom that tend to be inevitable to protect domestic tranquility in more congested civilizations?

The environment/immigration debate would move to a much higher intellectual plain if the options were laid out as are the competing honest proposals to cut the federal budget deficit. The proposals for this have called on all parties to use the same economic assumptions and the same bottom line deficit figure and then show the combination of spending cuts and tax increases that would achieve that bottom line.

In this environmental debate, the bottom line should be an agreed upon target such as the total annual U.S. hydrocarbon emissions, energy consumption and water use. Then each proponent should list the annual fertility rate, immigration level and specific per capita consumption reductions that would reach those bottom lines.

Advocates of each combination of factors could make their case for the superior morality of their own proposal. In the end (and better soon than later), one option must be adopted by American society and the U.S. government if eco-systems are to be protected.

If the factors of immigration, fertility and consumption are allowed to continue to independently float without any accountability to their ecological impact, pronouncements about the spiritual mandate to protect and restore the natural environment are little more than moral posturing. ■

Catholicism Needs Immigration

Immigration "is the growing edge of Catholicism in the United States" much as it was in the 19th century, according to a priest who oversees the U.S. Catholic Conference's work with migrants and refugees. The influx of 10 million immigrants since 1980 is "the key to our future and the key to why the church is going to be very healthy in the 21st century," said Jesuit Father Richard Ryscavage, executive director of Migration and Refugee Services (MRS). He made comments in an October 12 interview with *The Catholic Standard and Times*, newspaper of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. He was in Philadelphia to attend the national convention of Catholic Charities, USA. The 19th-century wave of immigrants changed "the entire face of the Church," he said. Most immigrants in the current wave are Catholic and many are resettled with the help of MRS, the largest resettlement agency in the country. Of the 120,000 refugees taken in by the United States last year, the Catholic Church resettled about 40 percent. It was thought that the world's refugee problems would lessen with the end of the Cold War but the opposite has proved to be true, according to Ryscavage. Ongoing fighting, particularly in Somalia and what was Yugoslavia, is making it difficult to try to stem the flow of refugees at the source by improving living conditions, he said.

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The Catholic Hierarchy and Immigration: Boundless Compassion, Limited Responsibility

By David Simcox

> *For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?* Luke 14:28

Do sovereign nations have the inherent right to limit immigration? Catholic teaching since World War II has moved from a qualified "yes" to a presumption of "no," with the moral legitimacy of the rare exception depending on the exigencies of the moment.

This shifting theology bespeaks the rapid evolution in the structure of the church, in Rome and in the United States; in the increasing size and mobility of world populations; and in the way the church sees itself and its mission in the world. The Vatican Councils in the 1960s renewed emphasis on ecumenism, internationalism, the indivisibility of the human family, and social activism. Migration, in the process, became sacralized. Rather than a social process which nations must manage, mass migration is an expression of the divine plan, a providential, redeeming force for the realization of universal human solidarity.

"Rather than a social process which nations must manage, mass migration is an expression of the divine plan..."

The church's assertion of the primacy of the needs of individual migrants partakes of its concern for the value and dignity of human life everywhere which has shaped its teaching on contraception and abortion. The scriptural verse: "Love the stranger then, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Deuteronomy 10: 18-19) is seen as summing up the "fundamental ethic of welcome, care, and solidarity towards every kind of immigrant" required of Christians.

THE "CONDITIONAL" BORDER AND THE GLOBAL COMMON GOOD

Pius XII, Christ's vicar (1939-1958) in a world beginning to experience explosive population growth and unprecedented mobility, became the first Pontiff to affirm an explicit, though conditional, "right" to migrate:

> *Public authorities unjustly deny the rights of human persons if they block or impede emigration or immigration except where grave requirements of the common good, considered objectively, demand it* (Speeches, 1959).

His successor, Pope John XXIII, also voiced the emerging doctrine of "just reasons" for immigration:

> *Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country; and, when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there* (Pacem in Terris).

The right to emigrate was enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which does not, however, contain any right of *immigration:*

> *Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.*
> *Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek*

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and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The right to immigrate had been explicitly rejected by most nations, including the United States. *Pacem in Terris* proclaims the promotion of the personal rights of all as the primary end of governments. This encyclical deplored the inadequacy of nation-states and the international system to realize the common good and the rights of individuals (Christiansen, 1988). Pope John implied a preference for world government, but prescribed neither structures nor roadmaps.

Pacem in Terris evokes the underlying historical tension between the Catholic church and the nation-state, with its concepts of geographically defined jurisdiction and obligations, exclusive sovereignty, and the supremacy of national interests. In the three decades since John XXIII, the church has become even more antagonistic toward national assertions of sovereignty, not only in the movement of peoples across borders, but in the international flow of trade, knowledge, culture and capital.

"...let immigrating people accommodate themselves willingly to a host community and hasten to learn its language..."

Pope Paul VI in 1967 affirmed more explicitly the right to migrate for economic betterment: "Every human being has the right to leave one's country of origin for various motives — and return to it as well — in order to seek better living conditions (cited in Mahony, 1987).

OBLIGATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS

World bishops, meeting at the Vatican in 1969, updated and codified the teachings on migration. The resulting document, *Instruction for the Pastoral Care of Peoples Who Migrate*, asserts the following rights (Congregation of Bishops, 1969)...

- The right to a homeland.
- The right of people to emigrate, as individuals or as families, when a state, because of poverty and "great population" cannot meet their needs, or denies their basic dignity. Migrants' right to live together as a family is to be safeguarded. Only the "grave requirements of the common good, considered objectively," can justify abridgment of these rights.
- The right to keep one's native tongue and spiritual heritage.

Instructions from the Congregation of Bishops spelled out obligations and duties for the migrants themselves — obligations that are rarely mentioned now in debating the morality of immigration control...

- The prospective migrants' obligation to remember that they have the right and duty to contribute to the progress of their home community:

  Especially in underdeveloped areas where all resources must be put to urgent use, those men gravely endanger the public good who, particularly possessing mental powers or wealth, are enticed by greed and temptation to emigrate. The developed regions should not omit to consider this perversion of the common good of the less developed regions. Let them foster the preparation and return to the homeland of artisans and students, once they achieve ability in their fields...

- Governing authorities of sending states have the parallel duty to seek the creation of jobs in their own regions:

  We advocate in such cases the policy of bringing the work to the workers, wherever possible, rather than drafting workers to the scene of the work. In this way migrations will be the result, not of compulsion, but of free choice.

- Migrants themselves have the duty to accommodate themselves to the host country:

  Anyone who is going to encounter another people should have great esteem for their patrimony and their language and their customs. Therefore let immigrating people accommodate themselves willingly to a host community and hasten to learn its language, so that, if their residence there turns out to be

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long or even definitive, they may be able to be integrated more easily into their new society.

The Vatican's concern for immigrants' rights has been further elaborated under John Paul II. "Solidarity among all peoples" has become a central theme in the Vatican's approach to international relations, and to immigration in particular. Solidarity, as the Vatican describes it, is not a matter of compassion but justice, not a question of economics but ethics (Final Document, 1991). Echoing open-border economist Julian Simon and other influential cornucopian thinkers, the Vatican proclaims solidarity to be its own reward: "experience shows that when a nation has the courage to open its frontiers to immigration, it is rewarded by increased prosperity, a solid renewal of society and a vigorous drive towards new economic and human goals" (Final Document, 1991).

John Paul II has reaffirmed the immorality of immigration restrictions except where justified by "serious and well-founded reasons." He has not stated the conditions for legitimate restriction with a specificity helpful to earthly policymakers. In 1990 he told Italian auto workers:

> *Indeed, each person's right to seek opportunities for the work necessary for the sustenance and development of himself and his family must be recognized, even beyond national and continental borders. This certainly does not exclude the legitimacy of regulation of immigration in the light of the common good of each individual nation, to be considered, however, in the context of the other nations of the world* (Observatore Romano, 1990).

Few church writings address the specifics or permissible immigration limits, or what constitutes the global common good individual nations must seek. Rome has explicitly denounced restrictions by wealthy nations that serve no other purpose than to protect their own affluence. Rome also enjoins affluent nations to commit at least two percent of GNP to assist developing nations, to set up structures to welcome immigrants and integrate them into society (while respecting the immigrants' loyalty to their ethnic and cultural roots), and to abstain from brain-draining and capital-draining migration policies (*Final Document*, 1991).

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY: IMMIGRATION AS ATONEMENT

The American Catholic bishops have been more militant than Rome itself in questioning the legitimacy of American immigration law.

The United States' size and abundance of wealth, and its immigrant traditions make it comparable to the thoughtless "rich man" of the biblical parable who is judged for his neglect of the needs of the beggar Lazarus (Luke 16: 19-31). The bishops' fervor stems from atavistic memories of the American church's own immigrant origins while revealing a radicalization of outlook.

Vatican councils I and II enlarged the powers of national bishops' councils, and triggered outspoken activism within the American hierarchy on social and economic issues. Much of the subsequent outpouring of bishops' high minded statements on migration, culture, economics and foreign and defense policy has been a genuine welling up of Christian witness. Some has been pure hubris, combined with a need to compensate for the bishops' relative powerlessness on such critical church issues as contraception, abortion, ordination and empowerment of women, or reform of the priesthood.

"Committed to the preferential option for the poor, the hierarchy's recognition of the state's right to restrict immigration 'for the common good' tends to vanish altogether."

The Catholic left's influence has also heightened the bishop's discomfort with U.S. foreign and immigration policy. The "preferential option for the poor" proclaimed in Latin American liberation theology captured the imagination of many progressive American Catholics. Its rhetoric injected notions of class struggle and class envy into the U.S. church's world view. For some this preferential option means a priority for the world's poor in immigration and the rejection of the distinctions between political and economic refugees.

For some thinkers, the exploitation of sending nations by American capitalism or the presumed support of repressive third world regimes by U.S. diplomacy have obligated the United States to accept

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immigrants (Christiansen, 1988). Such reasoning informed the crusade of the "sanctuary movement" to smuggle Central American illegal aliens into the U.S. in obedience to a "higher law."

DOES LOVE KNOW NO BORDERS?

U.S. bishops as a group neither endorsed nor condemned the sanctuary movement. Some individually supported it. Pope John Paul II seemed to endorse the movement in a vague statement during his 1987 visit to San Antonio, Texas (*New York Times*, 1987) — an endorsement a Vatican press spokesman claimed was never intended.

Committed to the preferential option for the poor, the hierarchy's recognition of the state's right to restrict immigration "for the common good" tends to vanish altogether. Archbishop Roger Mahony of Los Angeles, who presides over the United States' largest concentration of illegal aliens, put it in these terms:

> *If the question is between the right of a nation to control its borders and the right of a person to emigrate in order to seek safe haven from hunger or violence (or both), we believe that the first right must give way to the second* (Mahony, 1987).

For the bishops, enforcement of internal immigration controls, such as employer sanctions, are also morally questionable. Archbishop Mahony in 1987 pledged to work with other groups "to develop new, creative employment for all our people, regardless of their standing under the new law." With his support, Los Angeles developed facilities for job placement of undocumented day laborers, a direct challenge to the intent of sanctions (*Tidings*, 1987).

"Acknowledgement of overpopulation is rare now in church pronouncements, which in recent years have taken refuge in cornucopian economics."

In 1988 the National Conference of Catholic Bishops restated its opposition to employer sanctions because its original condition, a universal amnesty, had not been met. The bishops affirmed that the right to migrate for work cannot be simply ignored in the exercise of a nation's sovereign right to control its own borders — resuscitating a doctrine they had been willing to overlook in the 1986 legislative bargaining. "The church," they noted, "must be the first to insist that love knows no borders" (National Conference, 1988). The bishops' staff arm, the Catholic Refugee and Migration Service, is a major participant in the coalition now lobbying for the repeal of employer sanctions.

GOD AND CAESAR: STILL A TOUGH CALL

While the Holy Spirit may have had a hand in creating it, such a formidable body of doctrine is not likely to be free of inconsistencies, contradictions, omissions and selective applications. Some of these inconsistencies themselves illuminate the problem of applying the selfless moral absolutes of the eternal to the disorderly, complex and competitive secular world. They point up the intractable nature of such issues as population growth, resources and stewardship, the moral efficacy of the nation-state, and the ever-intrusive question of what is God's and what is Caesar's.

To their credit, Vatican teachings on immigration at the outset recognized that "overpopulation" in fact occurs and can magnify human hardship. Too many people for the available resources indeed justified emigration. But this logic lapsed in the case of the receiving countries: immigration limits are not permissible for societies seeking to balance their populations and resources. Acknowledgement of overpopulation is rare now in church pronouncements, which in recent years have taken refuge in cornucopian economics (see Kasun, 1988). The church's outlook on migration is one-of-a-piece with its ostrich-like attitude on world population growth.

In recent years the bishops and Rome itself have said less and less about the Vatican's 1969 injunction to immigrants to absorb the language and customs of the host country to aid their integration. Instead, church leaders have joined in the rising disdain for the concept of the "melting pot" and official-English laws, and have affirmed diversity and cultural pluralism as moral ends in themselves.

The Vatican's distrust of the nation-state is centuries old, but not always consistent. While Pope John XXIII in 1958 urged supranational action to protect migrants rights, his successor in 1992 played *realpolitik* to keep the international community from

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addressing the environmental costs of population growth at a 1992 U.N. Conference at Rio de Janeiro. Nation-states do in fact act in their own best interests. The Vatican, a recognized sovereign state, did so in Rio; and it does so in governing its own tiny territory. No immigration is permitted and no refugees are accepted for resettlement.

As the most "affluent" nation-state, the United States's immigration policies come under special church scrutiny. The rich United States is obliged to accept the world's poor. But the unevenness (indeed, the decline) of U.S. affluence is ignored. The nation has more than 30 million poor people, many of them recent immigrants. Perhaps these are our nation's own biblical "strangers among us" whom justice must give first claim on our resources.

Oddly, the church leadership that first championed trade unionism in the 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, now preaches tolerance of a heavy illegal immigration that destroys trade unions, undercuts workers' rights, and increases income inequality. While unions were seen by Pope Leo XIII as justified in seeking to control the supply of labor, nation-states are not so justified in conducting their immigration policies. The international human rights the church promotes, such as free migration, must be weighed against other human rights of equal or greater validity — such as basic government services, domestic tranquility, job security, a decent quality of life, and a sustainable environment.

The tough task of managing immigration highlights other contradictions between church teachings and church actions. Church leaders increasingly reject the international border as morally dubious. But U.S. church lobbyists arguing for the repeal of employer sanctions have spoken out for a larger border patrol (Ryscavage, 1992). Similarly, a U.S. church bureaucracy that lobbied zealously for the 1980 Refugee Act, now works with equal zeal against one of that act's central principles: the priority of "political" refugees over "economic" ones. Church teachings initially conceded that immigration which deprived less developed nations of their capital or their talent was morally unjustifiable. Not much has been heard about that lately among Catholic immigration advocates. Church lobbyists in Washington have tended to push, as in the cases of El Salvador and Haiti, for mass catch-all legalization and asylum arrangements, with little concern for the differing motives and conditions of individual migrants.

COUNTING THE COST

The practice here is not new in Christendom: church leaders are wont to prescribe moral public policies, but with minimum responsibility for the costs or outcomes that temporal leaders must grapple with. A legitimate mission of church, mosque and synagogue is to remind nations of the general moral principles that must underlie sound policy. This worthy role is missing when the church becomes just once more pressure group, in Washington or at the U.N., demanding specific actions. The dividing line between moral exhortation and moral blackmail is blurred.

"Worth remembering is that the Good Samaritan, when he practiced an act of compassion, unlike many of our era's altruists, was fully accountable himself for its resource consequences."

American bishops may have to rearrange their diocesan charity budgets, but Caesar, not the clerics, will ultimately count the cost to South Florida and the federal treasury for settling and integrating 100,000 or more Haitian boat people. Nor is the hierarchy troubled by the search for revenues to overcome California's multi-billion dollar budget deficit, aggravated by the massive immigration of the 1980s. More disturbing is the bishops' indifference to the hidden costs to America's poor of mass migrations into key cities such as Miami and Los Angeles. Rather, the Roman Catholic church as an institution has gained materially from heavy refugee flows because of contracts with the federal government to provide resettlement services. Catholic and other religious lobbyists and advocacies are commendably charitable, but too often with the goods of others.

The Bible has much to say about charity and the ancient, balancing virtues of caution, prudence, responsible stewardship, and the simple fact of scarcity that compels us all to "count the cost." Worth remembering is that the Good Samaritan,

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when he practiced an act of compassion, unlike many of our era's altruists, was fully accountable himself for its resource consequences: *He took out two pence, gave them to the innkeeper and said unto him take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee* (Luke 10:35). He didn't transfer the financial burden of his compassion to others.

So it is that the church is "in the world and not of it." But human beings in their search for peace, order and justice build institutions such as governments that inevitably must be both in the world and of it. ■

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On Welcoming the Stranger

By Mark Uhlmann

On the last Sunday in September each year, on what is known in the Catholic Church as "Social Justice Sunday," an issues paper is released under the sponsorship of the bishops. The paper is distributed for sale to Catholic parishes throughout the country. In 1991, the paper was produced by the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council. It was entitled: "I Am a Stranger: Will You Welcome Me?"[1] and dealt with immigration.

The Council is one of the subsidiary bodies of the bishops, but not the only one which has produced issues papers. Protestant church organizations have also participated, as in 1988 when the social justice issues paper on prisons was produced ecumenically. There is a considerable degree of crossover and interaction among the various Catholic social welfare agencies and with similar agencies in other churches, and with secular bodies.

The 1991 immigration paper, for example, was largely written by Father Anthony Fisher, a Dominican friar who worked as an immigration research officer for a Jesuit center for "social research and action," called Uniya. The paper, however, was produced on behalf of the Council, which in turn is sponsored by the bishops. Confused? The complexities continue.

It is important to note that this combination of Catholic activist organizations and the bishops incorporates some considerable tensions. The bishops, as might be expected, are generally traditionalist, while Catholic social activist organizations are generally "politically correct." Even bodies sponsored by the bishops, such as the Council, will occasionally openly defy them. At the very least, they are prepared to sail very close to the wind in their quest to change the church.

A forerunner to the Council, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, was disbanded by the bishops in 1987 for being too politicized. In spite of these divisions, the Catholic social activist organizations and the bishops are at one when it comes to immigration.

The Council paper came down strongly on the side of high immigration, recommending an annual immigration intake of between 170,000 and 200,000, with the refugee intake boosted to make up one-third of that figure — this in spite of the fact that Australia was in recession.

At the time the document was released, Bob Hawke, a self-professed "high-immigration man" was Prime Minister. The 1991-92 projected intake had been cut to 111,000 from the previous year's actual intake of about 124,000, itself short of the projected intake of 126,000. So the immigration trend was downward. The Australian Council of Trade Unions, an organization closely connected with the Australian Labor Party government, was privately calling for a further, but only marginal, cut in the 1992-93 intake. It would eventually openly call for a figure of 100,000.

Mr. Hawke, himself a former president of the ACTU, was determined to keep the intake high. He had adopted a policy of appeasement to ethnic lobby groups, as indeed had sections of the ACTU. While the ACTU called for a marginal cut, that would only be in the "skilled" category. The family reunion intake would remain high.

Apart from the ACTU, there were a number of individual commentators and some politicians, including a senior member of the government, Employment Minister and Hawke antagonist John Dawkins, who were calling for a cut. At an ALP conference in June, 1991, Mr. Dawkins said the intake should be halved. This followed upon a similar call by outspoken ALP backbencher Graeme Campbell, who in March that year had called for the intake to be cut to 50,000 and to be held at that figure or below for the long term. Former ALP Finance Minister Peter Walsh was also an immigration critic and had called for a similar cut.

But most of those calling for a cut, including the leader of the Opposition, John Hewson, cited the

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recession and stated that in good times they would greatly increase the intake.

Historically, Australia had always cut immigration in recessions and the fact that it remained high was because a network of pro-immigration interests, most of them government-funded, had grown up since the late 1970s and were able to exert a powerful influence over immigration policy.

It was clear that so long as Mr. Hawke remained Prime Minister the intake would remain high, but it was also clear that the overall balance of pressures, given the economic circumstances, meant that, at the very least, immigration would not be increased.

"...[immigration] remained high because a network of pro-immigration interests, most of them government-funded, had grown up since the late 1970s and were able to exert a powerful influence over immigration policy."

It was in these circumstances that the Catholic Social Justice Council released its paper calling for a significant increase in immigration. As a result, although it was strongly promoted by the pro-immigration lobby, it was generally seen to be unrealistic and the immediate political impact was minimal.

However, there is little doubt that with an improvement in economic fortunes the pro-immigration forces will rally, and they will have behind them the moral and organizational support of the church.

In fact, church-related bodies have sponsored a number of discussions across the country centered around the report since its release. These have included discussions with ordinary churchgoers at a parish level, and more formal discussions involving guest speakers, such as academics and international refugee workers beyond the parish. One of the latter included a conference at Sydney University in June, 1992 called "Welcome Stranger" and dealt specifically with refugees. Incidentally, one of the speakers at this conference was Dr. Arthur Helton of the U.S. Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, who may be known to readers of *The Social Contract*.

Through this process, not only will the document evolve but the pro-immigration/refugee network across Australia — and its international contacts — will be strengthened.

The document itself suggests that concerned readers join a "[pro-immigration] lobby group which deals with these issues" and "organize discussion of these issues in the groups and networks to which [you] already belong" (p.56). The reading list provided at the end of the document is overwhelmingly pro-immigration.

Most Protestant churches, too, adopt a similar line to the Catholic church and so merge with the secular politically correct lobby on this issue. Among the churches, though, it is the Catholic church, as the biggest and best organized, which commands the greatest authority.

Well before the release of the document, sections of the Catholic church had, in particular, taken a leading role in refugee work. This was notably so in relation to Indo-Chinese refugees, many of whom were Catholic. The work done during this generous, but not entirely disinterested, association with the refugees of the 1970s, combined with the long-standing missionary association in Third World countries, was important in forming attitudes to refugees in general. Refugees were and are simply taken at face value.

Even a lay Catholic as outstanding as B. A. Santamaria — a leading intellectual force in Australia for over 50 years — though powerful in his criticisms of other aspects of political correctness, seems to suspend his critical faculties when it comes to refugees. In general, his line about immigration is that if we don't have a large intake, it will be forced upon us.

One Catholic priest, Father Larry Reitmeyer, based at the Western Australian town of Port Hedland, which contains a holding camp for refugees who have simply turned up on our shores, has gained national attention as an advocate of their claims. Most of the refugees in this camp are Cambodian and Chinese boatpeople. He has, on their behalf, announced hunger strikes, called off hunger strikes, generally criticized the immigration department and likened the Australian government to that of Pol Pot.

The Archbishop of Perth, Bishop Hickey, has backed up Father Reitmeyer by making various

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claims about bad treatment of the refugees, one of which involved a pregnant Chinese woman and a suggestion that the government was involved in forcing her to have an abortion. Immigration Minister Gerry Hand, himself raised as a Catholic, was enraged. In Parliament on May 5, 1992, he stated: "A bishop goes on television and alleges that the Department and I are engaged in some sort of compulsory abortion process and then he carefully backs away. That is another outrageous lie — bishop or no bishop. That was never going to happen." Bishop Hickey has also stated that the approach to refugees was like "some sort of ethnic cleansing" process.

"The attitude of the [Roman Catholic] Church to national sovereignty is one of the most disturbing aspects of the paper."

He was supported by the Anglican Archbishop of Perth, Dr. Peter Carnley, who, in his Easter Day messasge for 1992, called the treatment of refugee Cambodians "one of the most shameful events" in the country's history. The publicly-funded and politically correct Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission has also been strongly critical.

Unfortunately for those who have made such emotive claims, United Nations representatives, themselves involved in the refugee determination process, do not support them. The head of the Bangkok office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stated to *The* [Melbourne] *Age* newspaper on June 20, 1992, that Australia's record on processing asylum applicants was well-balanced, fair and deservedly reputable.

Church spokespersons and others seem determined to invite an international reaction against Australia and, given the political forces at work within the UN, fair-minded assessments by that organization are by no means guaranteed for the future.

It is important to remember that the Catholic Church is historically pro-immigration and in particular sympathetic to refugees from Communist countries. The pro-immigration position of the Catholic Church in Australia was emphasized in an earlier social justice paper, "Land Without People," in 1953. High immigration and the White Australia policy of admission at that time was an article of faith throughout Australian politics. "Land Without People" was written by B. A. Santamaria, who was head of the National Catholic Rural Movement, an organization which favored establishing Catholic settlements in rural areas.

Mr. Santamaria not only favored decentralization for national reasons, he wanted to replicate the Catholic model of Europe where the strongest support for the Church was to be found in the countryside. His plan was a failure, as immigration decentralization attempts generally have been in Australia.

So, in spite of political divisions, there is an element of continuity in Catholic thinking on immigration and refugees, particularly where those refugees are Catholic. The 1991 Council paper goes further and tries to get a justification for immigration and the acceptance of immigration from the scriptures. As for the immigrants and refugees themselves, the paper states, in order to gain support from the [presumed Christian] reader, "many of them are Christian."

In the future, of course, given the religious makeup of the great bulk of people in countries to our north and the disregard for national sovereignty the Church effectively condones, very few will be Christian. The approach of the church on this issue means that it risks undermining its own position, not only with respect to an influx of non-Christian refugees, but as regards the continued allegiance of its own "old Australian" congregations, who are in the main strongly nationalist. A new issue — mass population movement — may yet again divide the Catholic Church in Australia, as it was divided in the 1950s, over an internal political struggle in the ALP.

The attitude of the Church to national sovereignty is in fact one of the most disturbing aspects of the paper. The argument runs that sovereignty is conditional upon the application of universalistic social justice principles, and the implication is that Australia is clearly failing to uphold them. The general tenor of these principles is utopian and they are presented as self-evidently good, rather than open to interpretation and abuse.

The paper affirms its commitment to "internationalism" and states: "No nation can claim

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absolute sovereignty over its region or resources. Narrow nationalistic self-interest and isolationism are contrary to justice" (p.42-43), and "Borders around nations, like fences around individual private property, are conditional" (p.42).

Further, according to "social justice" principles, "there may well be a right to migrate" and "Such a right has been asserted in Catholic social teaching ever since Pius XII (1953) and John XXIII (1963), though its scope and limits have not been developed." (p.43).

The definition of who has such a right is both very wide and open to a variety of interpretations. It exists where "basic security, participation, equity and proper development in accord with human dignity" (P.43) are not available in the country of origin. A good lawyer, under these circumstances, would be able to stretch the definition to cover the great majority of the world's population. As well, the paper denies the difference between a political and an economic refugee.

So, national sovereignty is conditional, migrants have a right to migrate, and nations with "room to spare" have an obligation to accept them. This falls under the principle of "distributive justice."

But if the church is to be intellectually consistent, "distributive justice" must also hold for its own "private property." The poor in any region, under those circumstances, have the right to appropriate the property of the wealthy. The Vatican City itself, though small, surely has empty rooms available. It has wealth and doesn't mind stooping into the vulgar world of commerce to acquire it. As the Catholic Church is effectively appropriating our nation, supposedly in the interests of the poor, what moral right then does it have to resist an agent of the poor appropriating the property of the Catholic Church on behalf of another utopian ideal? A government which claims to represent the poor can therefore, under the Church's own philosophy, violate the sovereignty of the church.

Australia, under the strictures of the Council's paper, is damned by statistics: "World-wide there are 107 persons per square kilometer; the Asian-Pacific region has on average 78, ranging from Hong Kong with 5,800 to Australia with only two persons per square kilometer." (p.40), and "Is it fair for 0.25 per cent of the world's population to claim sovereignty and absolute rights to such a huge area?" Why not ask: Is it fair for the Catholic Church to be so rich when so many are poor? Why does it not simply distribute all its goods to the poor?

These bald statistics about population density were repeatedly stressed in the promotion of the council paper, without reference to the arid nature of the continent, though the paper itself states that even if two-thirds of the continent is classified as "irretrievably desert," the country would still have plenty of room to spare.

"...the great bulk of migrants settles in the cities ... [t]he capacity of Australia's cities to cope with this immigration-fueled population increase is not even considered."

This ignores the fact that the great bulk of migrants settle in the cities and traditionally have done so. Attempts to decentralize the intake have historically been failures. Far from people moving to the country, much of which is marginal farming land with degraded soils, the trend is for country people to leave the land and move to the cities. The capacity of Australia's cities to cope with this immigration-fueled population increase is not even considered. As for economics, it is just assumed that Australia will be able to cope, when most economists now acknowledge that immigration, because of the need to borrow abroad to pay for it, considerably exacerbates our current account deficit — a chronic Australian problem.

The paper quotes the fantasy of one high-immigration advocate in these terms: "At the [pro-immigration Bureau of Immigration Research] National Immigration Conference in 1990, one speaker pointed out that in the future Australia could sustain a population of at least 150 million and yet be far more decentralized than it presently is, with at least 150 large cities, many in the resource- and water-rich top half of the continent." [Our present population is about 17.5 million.] Surprising, you might think, that no one had thought of building cities across the north before. Of course, they had thought of it! Neither locals, migrants or refugees show any inclination to move there and start building. Such a proposal, even if it were practical,

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presumes a loss of sovereignty leading to total colonization. Because of the numbers involved, we would be swamped.

But, to be more practical, where is the money to come from? Only a country or countries with massive economic resources would be able to contemplate building 15 large cities in the north, let alone 150. After such an investment, would they then offer the cities altruistically to the poor of the Third World? If hundreds of thousands of people do move from the Third World to Australia, they will make claims on the pre-existing cities, which are already under stress, as they have moved from rural areas to the cities in their own countries. The inhospitable north of Australia is not likely to be their idea of El Dorado.

Also, it may not have occurred to the Council that people already live across the top of the continent — albeit, for very good reasons, in very low densities per square mile. They are Aboriginal people, whose rights to land the Council has championed. Are they to have a say about this proposed massive influx? Aboriginals have, in Western Australia in particular, already expressed their strong displeasure at refugee boats just turning up on their shores. As Graeme Campbell states: "Their solution is to sink them."

Incidentally, the name of this speaker at the Immigration Conference was not given, perhaps because the Church feels some unease at being associated with a position also adopted by the big business lobby. The individual is Phil Ruthven, a consultant to multinational big business firms, most of which are all in favor of high immigration. Mr. Ruthven, along with Hugh Morgan, director of the Western Mining Corporation, has called for intakes of 500,000 per year.

Many in the big business lobby also believe free trade should be accompanied by free movement of labor among nations. Both sides of politics are committed to free trade, in particular with neighboring Asian nations, notably China. Southeast Asian nations already have widespread and low-wage migrant labor schemes run by Third World elites. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of April 2, 1992, notes China has increasingly shown an interest in getting involved and has 200 million workers it classifies as surplus. The effect of this approach on Australia can be imagined.

As if to drive home the point, *The Australian Financial Review* of October 28 carried an article in which a German industrialist gave one of the most explicit statements yet of the profits-above-all big business agenda, as it concerns Australia. The executive chairman of Thyssen Industries, Dr. Eckhard Rohkamm, told a meeting of the German-Australian Association in Dusseldorf that Australia needed to import cheap Asian labor. "Australia must be prepared to open up its borders and not live in splendid isolation," Dr. Rohkamm said. He boasted of German industrialists sub-contracting work to surrounding Central European nations, where wages were about 15 per cent of the cost of German wages — this in spite of high unemployment in Germany. He said that much lower wages were needed in order to make Australia an attractive place for investment. Surprise, surprise: Hugh Morgan, the president of the Australia-German Chamber of Commerce, was also at the meeting and expressed similar sentiments.

"Many in the big business lobby ... believe free trade should be accompanied by free movement of labor among nations."

Clearly, if their advice were to be accepted, the Australian social contract would break down completely and the stable political climate big business claims is vital to investment would be lost. The Church position, as outlined in the council paper, would not only act to facilitate such a process, it would provide it with a "moral" justification.

The Church has, in this paper, with all its moral authority and influence, effectively made a case against the right to sovereignty for Australia. It is part of a continuing trend among churches, sections of the media, and other government-funded agencies connected with immigration and multiculturalism, either knowingly or otherwise, to undermine Australia's moral authority to sovereign status. Frequently, they have used Aboriginal-White relations for this purpose.

The government itself has also increasingly ceded its powers to unelected and unrepresentative bureaucracies, such as the politically correct Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. The

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quality of work coming from this commission is an intellectual disgrace, yet its reports have been used to promote an ongoing assault on civil liberties in the name of high-sounding causes, such as the prevention of racial vilification.

The government-funded Australian Broadcasting Commission is another home for the politically correct. On September 16, 1992, the Federal Cabinet decided to allow the ABC to broadcast television programs to Asian countries in the region. This was presented by the Minister for Communications, Senator Collins, as some sort of great boon for Australia, but it is unlikely to be so clear cut.

The ABC has pledged not to broadcast programs which might upset our Asian neighbors, but it can be relied upon to broadcast material which presents Australians as racist brutes towards both Aboriginals and Asians. Though Australia is comparatively a very tolerant country, the gross distortions of the facts common on the ABC will no doubt be taken as truth in a region where the media is controlled by governments. These countries, should they ever be in dispute with Australia, as some have been, will have no need to devise their own anti-Australian propaganda; the ABC can be relied upon to do the job for them.

This will further undermine our moral claim to sovereignty and, in the era of an increasingly interventionist United Nations, could see the UN take advantage and sanction the mass movement of people towards Australia. Various people in Australia, including Hugh Morgan, have virtually invited such a prospect by saying that if we don't allow large scale immigration, then "the rest of the world" will not only force it upon us, they will have a right to do so — a precise echo of the Catholic position.

Ironically, those nations which effectively control their media and population by coercive means may well be able to posture on the high moral ground, while more open and tolerant societies, presented as racist and selfish by sections of their own population, will face international indignation. This is quite apart from the general effect of the spread of global communications merely for profit, as noted by William Shawcross, among others, in his book *Rupert Murdoch*. As images of the golden and abundant west that are largely illusionary are increasingly broadcast in the Third World, notably China, mass population movement is likely to be further stimulated.

Paradoxically, the insatiable capitalist profit brigade will again ally with the guilty conscience/social engineering brigade to undermine the sovereignty of Western nations. The spread of global communications is likely both to create a magnetic effect and a moral justification for mass population movement.

The Catholic Church, if this document is any guide, will play its part in Australia and, no doubt, world wide. It will also no doubt make liberal use of those old favorites: guilt and fear, as this paper — for all the supposed social progressiveness of the Council — does. The paper makes clear that we are guilty of being isolationist and selfish if we do not agree with the argument, and possibly even our immortal souls are at risk. The paper's title is an echo of the scriptures. Answering "no" promises a very heavy penalty indeed.

With heavy implications of spiritual blackmail, the threat of eternal damnation is evoked. The paper quotes Matthew 25:31-46: "When the Son of Man comes in his glory, all the nations will be gathered before him and he will separate people one from another [into the saved and the damned]". Among the saved will be those to whom he is able to say "I was a stranger and you welcomed me." (i.e. those who embraced the position of the Social Justice Council on immigration). On the other hand, those among the damned will presumably include those who opposed high immigration. They will be "accursed" and commanded to "depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. ...I was a stranger and you did not welcome me."■

NOTE

[1] "I am a stranger: Will you welcome me?" — an issues paper from the Australian Social Justice Council, Collins Dove, 1991.

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One important sign that the mainline Protestant churches are beginning to confront the problem of rapid population growth is the appearance of Six Billion and More: Human Population Regulation and Christian Ethics *by Susan Power Bratton, professor of religion and ethics at North Texas State University. In it Dr. Bratton wrestles with some of the ethical issues in population control posed by Garrett Hardin and Paul Ehrlich. Chapter 6 of that book is here reprinted by permission of Westminster/John Knox Press.* *© 1992 Susan Power Bratton.*

Six Billion and More

By Susan Power Bratton

Environmental advocates and biologists have hardly been the first and only proponents of zero human population growth, but they have been among the most prolific writers on the topic and have proposed several ethical models of human population regulation (sometimes while denying their own ability to make social ethical statements). These models, particularly "lifeboat ethics" and "triage," are more than the opinions of single authors — they reflect a particular Western mindset. In completing a historic overview of population ethics, we will find that the best-known models of the post-World War II era represent a continuation of the Malthusian approach and have had widespread influence in the industrial nations. Even though these models may not be based on Christian values and may ultimately be unacceptable from a Christian standpoint, we need to carefully examine their suppositions in the light of a worldwide population explosion.

We must recognize first that contemporary environmental thought has been influenced not only by Malthusian but also by Darwinian concepts. Basic ecology texts often suggest that the potential for human population growth is exponential and that the human ability to exceed environmental carrying capacity is an imminent threat. Further, evolutionary theory holds that natural selection determines the characteristics of all species, including human beings. From a scientific perspective, real achievement in physical existence is only accomplished by passing one's genetic materials along to the next generation. In its most developed contemporary form — sociobiology — evolutionary philosophy proposes that altruism in humans and animals is selected if it increases the chances that offspring, siblings, and other near relatives will survive. Altruism directed toward distant relatives is only beneficial if, on the average, it provides some gain for the individual extending the help (in which case it is no longer altruism). The evolutionary models of life on earth are essentially reproductive account books, where the individual or genetically related group leaving the most offspring wins.[1]

The evolutionary model of "being" diverges from the Christian model of "being" primarily in its concept of the individual. In Christ's teachings on the kingdom, the individual has an eternal essence (the soul) and a relationship to God that transcend physical reality. The individual's earthly state is important, yet the individual's relationship to the divine supersedes it. New Testament Christianity, in fact, put much less emphasis on individual reproductive fitness than ancient Judaism did. One's willingness to adapt Christian values in population ethics will depend at least partially on whether one believes there is a resurrection and whether one believes our final state depends on our relationship to God rather than on the number of our progeny. New Testament teaching repeatedly proposes a divestment of personal resources in favor of propagating the kingdom. The New Testament is un-Darwinian when it holds that the disciple should "hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yea, even his own life" (Luke 14:26) (meaning family concerns should be secondary to spiritual concerns) or when the disciple is commanded, "Sell all that you have and distribute to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven" (Luke 18:22) (implying that giving to others increases otherworldly prosperity). Christianity's universality is, in fact, un-Darwinian in giving Christians obligations to those to whom they are not immediately related (the non-Christian on the remote shore) and to the reproductively unfit (such as the dying or the retarded). Western culture, in holding both Christian principles and modern science (with

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its this-world-only foundation) in high esteem, is automatically inviting conflict over personal and social reproductive values.

Progeny Versus Prosperity

Environmental advocates have identified the "frontier ethic" (also known as the "cowboy ethic") of environmental exploitation and unregulated human population growth as unacceptable in the industrialized twentieth century. The frontier ethic holds that resources are superabundant or available for the taking and that human beings should harvest what they need when they need it. Further, there is lots of room for humans to expand their populations into "undeveloped" or uncivilized lands (even if indigenous peoples are already residing on the territory), or to harvest the deep oceans. In a version of the frontier model based on human potential for problem solving rather than on the availability of unoccupied space, humans have "scientific supremacy" and thus can solve any problems caused by resource limitation.

"Environmentalists... do not believe science can overcome environmental problems... unless human societies assist... by making the necessary social and economic adjustments."

Environmentalists, who are not necessarily pessimists by nature, do not believe science can overcome environmental problems as quickly as they are developing unless human societies assist in combatting environmental degradation by making the necessary social and economic adjustments. Biologist Garrett Hardin, in one of the best-known and most controversial of the environmental models for human population regulation, attacked not only human ignorance of resource limitations but also what Hardin saw as dangerous assistance to those who were careless enough to abuse their natural resources. Using metaphor, Hardin described world circumstances as a series of lifeboats, where

> *each rich nation amounts to a lifeboat full of comparatively rich people. The poor of the world are in the other, much more crowded lifeboats. Continuously, so to speak, the poor fall out of their lifeboats and swim for a while in the water outside, hoping to be admitted to a rich lifeboat, or in some other way to benefit from the "goodies" on board. What should the passengers on a rich lifeboat do? This is the central problem of the "ethics of a lifeboat."*[2]

Each poor lifeboat is assumed to be full or overloaded and sinking. The rich lifeboats are not full but have perhaps fifty passengers and a safe capacity of sixty. What happens if there are one hundred people swimming around a lifeboat carrying fifty?

Hardin rejected "the Christian ideal of being our brother's keeper"[3] out of hand on the grounds that complete justice will produce complete catastrophe. If the rich take all the swimmers into their boat, the boat will swamp and everyone will drown. Hardin also rejected just selecting ten of the needy swimmers, since it would be difficult to decide whom to pull into the boat, and the rich boat would lose its safety factor. Further, Hardin assumed that the rich cannot let the poor nations "into the rich boat" because the poor nations are so greatly outreproducing the rich that even if they don't sink the boat when first admitted, they will eventually. Hardin attempted to prove the danger with a simple example where rich and poor in a boat start with equal numbers, but with the higher reproductive rate of the poor, eighty-seven years later they outnumber the rich eight to one. He also argued against a world food bank to assist with emergencies such as famines and crop failures on the grounds that such aid prevents the troubled population from dropping back to "normal levels." (Hardin did not attempt to calculate how much additional buoyancy might be provided in the rich lifeboats if armaments and automobiles were dropped overboard, nor did he attempt to calculate reproductive rates in the poor lifeboats if the conditions of the poor improved.)

Before taking a critical look at Hardin's "lifeboat ethics," we have to investigate another of Hardin's models - "the tragedy of the commons" — whose suppositions are integral to lifeboat ethics. Hardin suggests that our physical environment, including shared land, air, and water resources, is like an old European or New England community pasture used for grazing sheep and cattle. If a herder is managing land properly, the herder will not put

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more livestock on the land than the land will bear. Too many sheep, for example, will consume all the grass, and the pasture will lose its productivity as erosion sets in. On common land, there is the temptation for each individual using the land to add one more head of stock than his or her share, thus maximizing production for themselves. If only one herder does this, it will probably make little difference, but if all participate in trying to get the most out of the land for themselves, it will soon be badly overgrazed if not permanently damaged. Hardin comments on Christian and Marxist responses to this dilemma:

> *If a pasture is run as a commons open to all, the right of each to use it is not matched by an operational responsibility to take care of it. It is no use asking independent herdsmen in a commons to act responsibly, for they dare not. The considerate herdsman who refrains from overloading the commons suffers more than a selfish one who says his needs are greater. (As Leo Durocher says, "Nice guys finish last.") Christian [or] Marxist idealism is counterproductive. That it sounds nice is no excuse. With distribution systems, as with individual morality, good intentions are no substitute for good performance.*
>
> *A social system is stable only if it is insensitive to errors. To the Christian [or] Marxist idealist a selfish person is a sort of "error." Prosperity in the systems of the commons cannot survive errors. If everyone would only restrain himself then all would be well: but it takes only one less than everyone to ruin a system of voluntary restraint. In a crowded world of less than perfect human beings — and we will never know any other — mutual ruin is inevitable in the commons.*[4]

From Hardin's perspective, human reproduction can easily overload the commons. Reproductive resources are rarely regulated; thus if one person wishes to have one more child than the next person (and take one more share of the food, water, educational resources, etc.), that is a step toward destroying the environmental resources on which human survival is dependent. Note that Hardin expects Christians to be idealistic in terms of sharing physical and economic necessities. He does not accuse Christians, as he justifiably might, of ignoring the need to share reproductive resources (or of being just as greedy as their neighbors).

When Hardin's articles on lifeboat ethics were first published, they drew strong criticism that they were anti-people and that aid should not be summarily denied to those who needed it. Many environmentalists, in fact, disagreed with him. Population ecologist Paul Ehrlich proposed a more moderate strategy of "triage," based on a military field medical approach to the injured and dying. During the brutal fighting in the trenches during World War I, doctors were in short supply. The question became which of the injured would be treated first in situations where there were limited numbers of medical personnel or where it was difficult to evacuate the casualties. Reasoning that some of the injured would survive in any case and some would die regardless of what was done for them, the first treated were those who both could be saved and for whom medical treatment might make the difference between life and death. Those with more minor injuries could wait until the more seriously injured had been treated, and those with mortal wounds could forego treatment entirely. Ehrlich suggested that modern developing nations are similar to the injured in battle. Some could be helped by foreign aid or food aid, and some were going to continue on to population disaster regardless. Some, however, will survive without assistance and can probably solve their own environmental and population problems if left alone. Under triage, aid would not be provided to countries that were not taking appropriate steps to help themselves. At the time the concept of triage was first applied to food aid in the mid-1960s, India and China were thought to be beyond help.[5] Today, much of Africa might be considered to be on a fatal and irreversible course to population catastrophe and agricultural disaster.

In 1967 Ehrlich joined other antinatalists in suggesting that further public efforts encouraging birth control and limitation of family size were socially necessary. His book *The Population Bomb* accepted strategies that might be considered coercive, including the milder negative incentives such as taxing extra children or cribs or diapers, and the stronger limitations on individual choices, such as government regulations limiting procreation. (Ehrlich's more recent work expresses concern over

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the coercive aspects of the Chinese population management program.)[6] Ehrlich also favored abortion when he argued that exposure to culture was the most "humanizing element of the environment"; thus a child was not fully human until after birth. The loss of the fetus was, therefore, merely the loss of a potential human, not an actual human. Ehrlich thought "biologists must take the side of the hungry *living* billions today and tomorrow, not the side of *potential* human beings."[7] The unborn child should not be allowed to compete for resources with one that was already present.

Christian Idealism?

In reviewing these models from a Christian perspective, rejecting frontier ethics should present few difficulties. Historically, frontier ethics has created numerous environmental and social problems and has generated case after case of wasteful natural resource use. Viewing the earth as a bountiful practice ground for human folly is hardly what the Psalmist meant when singing, "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." Frontier ethics is also tied to an optimistic form of humanism that assumes people can overcome any problem. This deviates from biblical concepts of human sin and dependence on the divine. Today, frontier ethics is generating more economic problems than it is temporarily relieving.

Lifeboat ethics and triage present more of a theological challenge. As environmental ethicist K. S. Schrader-Frechette points out, Hardin's and Ehrlich's versions of lifeboat ethics raise two key questions: Should the interests of the rich passengers be placed ahead of the interests of the poor passengers, and does "ultimate ecosystemic well-being" have "a higher value than equitable distribution of resources in the present."[8] Lifeboat ethics places the interests of the rich in opposition to those of the environment. Both lifeboat ethics and triage sincerely believe in evil outcomes if individual people are left to their own devices without the intervention of more knowledgeable biologists and government officials.

In 1971 Richard J. Neuhaus published a Christian critique of the environmentalist views of the time, which accused Hardin and Ehrlich of being "anti-people." Neuhaus complained that "the literature of the movement is marked by a moving reverence for the 'seamless web of life,' accompanied by a shocking indifference to the weaker and less convenient forms of human life and by an almost cavalier readiness to disrupt the carefully woven web of civility and humane values."[9] Neuhaus asserts that lifeboat ethics places the needs of lower forms of life above those of the poor while it encourages society to care for nature rather than for people who are starving. Although Neuhaus was expressing a very common Christian sentiment, we must be careful to examine the key elements in the models before rejecting them completely. We must also determine if Neuhaus was too quickly dismissing very serious socioeconomic and environmental problems.

"The real issue is whether the present state of the environment really has reached crisis proportions and whether famine due to excess population growth is unavoidable."

In the case of Ehrlich's triage model, Schrader-Frechette suggests, for example, that if one assumes aid cannot be made available to everyone, triage is merely a way of trying to save as many people as possible. One cannot, in a crisis, dismiss it as antilife. The real issue is whether the present state of the environment really has reached crisis proportions and whether famine due to excess population growth is unavoidable. If some countries really have passed the point of no return in terms of population overload, then triage could be humane because it directs resources toward those nations that still have an opportunity to avoid high mortality.[10] However, situations can change. For example, at the time Ehrlich proposed triage, China appeared to be on a hopeless course in terms of population growth. Whether or not we approve of how China altered her direction, there can be little doubt that she has. China's unexpected recovery should also remind us that the fate of a nation suffering famine or shortages is never so absolute as the death of an individual. People struggle through disasters, and children survive deprivation. Triage is a strategy aimed at dealing with absolute states — life or death. We cannot with any certainty declare a nation terminally ill. Even in worst-case scenarios, some individuals

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survive and can benefit from international assistance.

The example of Mother Theresa of Calcutta and her ministry to the dying presents an interesting lesson in our cultural perceptions of "terminal conditions." Mother Theresa initiated ministry specifically to people who were thought to be beyond medical help. Many of those whom she and her sisters have taken in from the street actually have died (in an atmosphere of peace and caring instead of despair), while many have recovered and have been released cured. Mother Theresa's ministry is effective because it is based on hope, is willing to cope with a poor prognosis, and considers the spiritual worth of the person rather than reproductive or economic productivity.

"...at least Ehrlich is attempting to do something to avert human suffering. Can Christians criticize his model without challenging his basic assumption that there will never be enough aid and enough resources for all?"

Among the real dangers of Ehrlich's model are its crisis orientation and its declaration that some nations are in a hopeless state and cannot be constructively aided. Ehrlich uses a prophecy of impending disaster to rationalize potentially coercive methods and to declare that some "potential" humans should not be added to the "real" humans already tilling the fields and filling the cities. Schrader-Frechette notes that the crisis mentality "somehow justifies circumventing the time-consuming and sometimes-frustrating process of democracy and the inconvenient dictates of justice."[11] Neuhaus goes a step further and compares the views of environmentalists who believe that the realities of natural processes must dominate human choices to those of National Socialism (i.e., the Nazis). Although the comparison is extreme and appears to be unjustified, Neuhaus correctly notes that Hitler thought humans were only on the correct course when they submitted to the laws of nature, a philosophical position that then allowed the dictator to sacrifice human lives and liberties to an immutable natural order.[12] Narrow Malthusian thinking does present the danger that we will all become so convinced that natural laws hold sway that we will not attempt to wrestle with the basic spiritual issues or with the concerns of individual human beings. Or as was the case with the Irish potato famine, ceding to natural laws will become an excuse for not correcting economic or social injustice.

One of the central questions for Christians concerning the triage model is not whom we should help, but why do we not have enough "physicians." We also should ask ourselves (as we should in the case of warfare) why, considering the impacts of famine, poverty, and underdevelopment in nations with large Christian populations, so many Christians are among the casualties. We have to consider not only that our perception that there are those who are beyond hope may be incorrect, but also that our perception of our ability or inability to aid them may be false. Further, Western Christians need to evaluate their nations' economic or military activities as factors that potentially maintain poverty and its associated unrelenting population growth in developing nations. We may theoretically reject Ehrlich's thinking as crisis oriented, but at least Ehrlich is attempting to do something to avert human suffering. Can Christians criticize his model without challenging his basic assumption that there will never be enough aid and enough resources for all? Can Christians constructively help those thought to be hopeless cases?

Whose Children Sink or Swim?

Hardin's lifeboat ethic portrays helping the poor lifeboats as both a potential threat to the rich and as detrimental to those who might survive in the poor lifeboats. The model is in many ways socially and economically unrealistic. First, the resources of the poor and rich lifeboats are not separate — many of them are shared. The rich lifeboats may actually be removing supplies from the poor ones. A developing country that raises coffee, tea or cocoa (or cocaine plants) is producing luxury agricultural products for the international market, not food for its own people. Crops such as coffee may produce more monetary income per acre than upland rice, but the dollars acquired in trade are not necessarily reinvested in buying grain abroad (and much of the profit of these transactions goes to international financial interests). Further, the poor lifeboats have to compete with the rich ones for products useful in agriculture, like

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petroleum for making fertilizer and running machinery. Greater sharing of resources between the rich and poor nations might indeed lead to less comfort in the rich lifeboats, but the analogy of the poor piling into the rich lifeboats is inappropriate (and seems to reflect a deep fear of the "haves" of losing what they have to the "have nots") — it is more a question of how many rich lifeboats will sink without coffee.

Hardin's analogy also gives the impression the lifeboats are all the same size. Actually, some boats are much larger than others relative to the number of people they carry. The contemporary world situation is really more like an armada of destroyers and supertankers running down the fleets of wooden fishing boats. Very few children from the poor vessels can actually enter the rich ones — the mere distance of the poor from the rich prevents the poor from swamping the rich craft.

"From a Christian perspective, if we reject Hardin's model as callous and economically inappropriate, we will still have to ask whether his supposition that providing aid to the poor may actually harm them might sometimes be true."

A key issue in these models is the role of *distributive justice*, or the just sharing of resources among people. Hardin clearly rejects its importance, and Ehrlich diverts from the question by proposing that there are not enough physicians — or put in other terms, Erhlich concludes the needs of everyone cannot be met. As Schrader-Frechette points out, Hardin assumes "that since perfect justice is impossible ... we have no obligations to justice at all." and that "the rich nations have the right to decide who will live and who will die."[13] The Bible, in contrast, presents justice as resting in the hands of a righteous God, and the poor as God's special concern. Christ's teachings in the New Testament never set the complete disappearance of poverty and need as an earthly goal, yet they call for Christ's followers to forget themselves and give to others as best they can. The rich lifeboats of Hardin's metaphor seem thus, from a biblical perspective, much like the full barns of the rich man who found God calling for his soul before he was expecting it and discovering too late that his great piles of grain were going to do him no eternal good.

The Roman world was as stressed as ours is in terms of food resources, perhaps even more so. Famines with fatalities were frequent, and the Levant was probably overpopulated. Yet early Christian teaching emphasizes justice in distribution of material resources. Are Christian teachings too naive and outmoded to deal with a "modern problem," or are Christian teachings a very venerable and humane way of dealing with difficulties that are centuries old? As Christians, we might experiment with reversing Hardin's and Ehrlich's models, both of which center on whom we should abandon, and ask whom we should rescue. We can, for example, see ourselves as sailors on stormy seas who have no way of knowing which boats will make it safely through and which are likely to sink. (Christians from industrial nations should see themselves as possessing powerful cutters and launches.) Suppose we try to help whomever we can, be it those boats closest to us or those that have clearly been damaged. If we don't offer assistance, some boats may sink unnecessarily. Helping another boat entails a risk. Yet without the willingness to take risks, no one in trouble will ever be aided. (This is one of the points of the parable of the Good Samaritan.) Hardin's model assumes that world problems with food resources and overpopulation cannot be solved without massive death and disaster. And perhaps Hardin is right, but if we don't try to dispense love and justice we will never know if the evil of the present situation can be overcome — and we will passively succumb to it.

From a Christian perspective, if we reject Hardin's model as callous and economically inappropriate, we still have to ask whether his supposition that providing aid to the poor may actually harm them might sometimes be true. Hardin, however, rejects aid in general, rather than discriminating between useful and nonuseful aid. Hardin also assumes that if the rich lifeboats help the poor ones, the aid will probably be in terms of food. Actually, the aid can be in other forms such as educational assistance, industrial development, or medical technology, including the provision of contraceptives or the techniques for making them.

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Believing that aid is damaging might actually inhibit the developed countries from providing assistance specifically in the area of population control. (Aid in population regulation is often linked to other programs.) Just as we should not abandon justice because our actions may be inadequate to resolve a problem completely, we should not pursue inadequate solutions if we have an opportunity to do something more appropriate.

Unfortunately, providing emergency assistance, even very appropriate assistance, always falls a step short of true distributive justice. If a nation is really going to have food security, then it must have enough economic and technological control over its own resources to ensure a continuous flow of goods and services. Donating food may provide immediate relief from famine but rarely resolves the underlying social or economic difficulties that led to food shortage. Ultimately, justice results from equitable land tenure systems and sustainable agriculture. It also arises from chances to complete school, get a dependable job, or start a business. Hardin is probably right when he suggests that aid is not the answer, but he is right for the wrong reason. Hardin believes justice is not possible and that aid worsens population and land abuse problems. From a Christian perspective, aid is not the ultimate answer because God's justice is possible and is vastly superior to charity, especially to the one on the receiving end.

"...there is no technological reason that the world population could not slowly decline, or that richer nations could not reduce their resource consumption. Only human will stands in the way."

A last issue presented by Hardin and Ehrlich is: dare we use resources to relieve current problems at the risk of damaging the interests of future generations? What about "ultimate ecosystem well-being"? What if we allow the atmosphere and our agricultural lands to deteriorate? Hardin assumes we have already reached the point where many lifeboats will necessarily sink. Erhlich assumes that unborn will steal the birthright from those already walking the earth. Neuhaus, in contrast, suggests that placing the needs of "lower forms of life" above those of poor humans is anti-people.

On one hand, we can ask ourselves: is present accelerated population growth causing permanent natural resource damage? The answer is yes; even now some regions are producing less food and firewood than they were a generation ago. This damage, however, is probably not even necessary, even at present population levels, and we could, *with proper resource management and equitable distribution of critical resources*, feed and care for the population we have, at least on a worldwide basis. (Some regions, particularly those with dry climates, would require substantial ecological restoration to support their present populations; thus population reduction may now be necessary for their indigenous residents to survive in the long run.) Further, there is no technological reason that the world population could not slowly decline or that the richer nations could not reduce their resource consumption. Only human will stands in the way. Without concern for land degradation and the condition of both agricultural and wild ecosystems (including those lower forms of life), we really may unnecessarily destroy resources that not only could be left for our grandchildren but that we also might need ourselves in the next ten years.

We need to recognize, however, that sharing and distributing resources will not cause future disaster nearly as fast as not sharing them will. Further, we cannot throw the needs of people against those of creation. Perhaps we can't get very excited about protecting "lower organisms," but if the land dies, the people die with it. As discussed in Chapter 5, God expects us to care for the earth and care for our neighbors.

Individual nations may already be in serious trouble, but the world community has the resources to assist them, and they may be able to slowly improve their own situations by confronting environmental and population problems. Rather than assume that a disastrous outcome cannot be averted and that the rich cannot afford to help the poor because it will make things worse, we might ask what responsibilities both the rich and the poor have to resolve the present situation and defuse future crisis. Hardin sees overproduction as a problem of the rich. His portrayal of the source of the crisis is

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one-sided and also assumes no positive action on the part of the poor lifeboats. What responsibilities do Christians from different nations and different social classes have in coping with present food shortages and in "protecting" the interests of potential humans, the unborn and future generations?

Christian Models?

Any analysis based on biblical teachings about the poor is likely to reject lifeboat ethics. We have to ask ourselves, however, whether Christians have anything to offer that is better. Faith and hope without a program are as likely as Hardin's dire forecasts to result in sunken vessels. Dare we reject triage until we have found a better, more humane strategy? At the moment Christians appear to be willing to provide food in cases of famine while they are unwilling to confront population issues or to consider what the future might hold for those already suffering. When famine repeatedly strikes the same area, do we follow Garrett Hardin and give up and go home? Is there a Christian alternative to shoving poor children out of lifeboats?

Paul Ehrlich and other authors like him have convinced the middle class of the developing nations that reducing population growth is a noble pursuit. Social conviction in combination with economic pressures has, in fact, resulted in population stabilization or decline in some of the wealthier nations. Not everyone agrees that zero population growth is beneficial, however, and some Christians are voicing concerns about the demographic trends.

Questions for Reflection

1. Can you name any nations in the world today that have exceeded their environmental carrying capacity? How do you know this?
2. Are there circumstances where Christians might consider triage as the appropriate strategy in Christian ministry to the poor? What are they? What do you think Theresa of Calcutta would have to say about triage?
3. To what extent do industrial nations "take" needed resources from less developed nations? Do you think the economic relationships between the developed and less developed nations are generally helpful or harmful to the less developed nations?
4. Do you think that caring for lower forms of life is necessary or unnecessary to long-term human survival on earth? Is Neuhaus's view realistic? Can you identify a point where neglecting the natural environment in favor of protecting people becomes self-defeating? ■

NOTES

[1] For a very readable explanation of sociobiology by one of its founders see Robert Trivers, *Social Evolution* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Co., 1985).

[2] Garrett Hardin, "Living on a Lifeboat," originally published in *Bioscience* 24, no. 10 (1974) and also available in several anthologies, including Garrett Hardin and John Baden, eds., *Managing the Commons* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1977), pp. 261-279.

[3] Hardin and Baden, *Managing the Commons*, p. 263.

[4] Ibid., p. 265.

[5] Paul Ehrlich. *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968), pp. 158-173. Although Erhlich usually is credited for bringing the idea of triage into the population arena, it was originally transferred from the medical to the food relief context by William and Paul Paddock in their book *Famine-1975!* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967).

[6] Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, pp. 132-157. In a more recent volume Paul and Anne Ehrlich comment, "Despite its success, there are two sad things about the Chinese [population control] program. The first is that the nation waited so long that, when a serious attempt was made to bring down birthrates, the program had many elements of coercion that are offensive to those of us who believe reproductive behavior should basically remain in the control of the individual" (*The Population Explosion [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990], p. 207*).

[7] Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, p. 148.

[8] "Frontier" or "Cowboy Ethics" and "Lifeboat Ethics," in K. S. Schrader-Frechette, ed., *Environmental Ethics* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Boxwood Press, 1981), p. 35. The discussion of lifeboat ethics in this book owes much to Schrasder-Frechette's analysis.

[9] Richard J. Neuhaus, *In Defense of People: Ecology and the Seduction of Radicalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 188.

[10] Schrader-Frechette, *Environmental Ethics*,pp. 37-38.

[11] Ibid., p. 38.

[12] Neuhaus, *In Defense of People*, pp. 151-161, and Schrader-Frechette, *Environmental Ethics*, pp. 38-39.

[13] Schrader-Frechette, *Environmental Ethics*, p. 41.

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Gerda Bikales came to the United States following World War II. As a Holocaust survivor and immigrant, she has had a long-standing philosophic interest in the ethics of immigration policy. She currently serves as president of E Pluribus Unum, *a Washington, DC-based public interest group.*

The Golden Rule in the Age of the Global Village

By Gerda Bikales

For the last two decades, one of the most dynamic American growth industries has been the practice of immigration law. In the seventies, some 300 lawyers were specialists in immigration, affiliated with the immigration bar. By 1982, the American Immigration Lawyers Association had grown to 1200 members. Ten years later, that number had tripled, to 3600.

Not surprisingly, immigration admissions to the United States reflect a similar growth pattern. From 1961 to 1970, 5.3 million immigrants were admitted; between 1971 and 1980, 7 million admissions were recorded; between 1981 and 1990, the number went up to 9.9 million. The year 1992 set an all-time yearly record — more than 1.8 million immigrants were admitted to permanent residence in our country.

The acceptance of more immigrants has not in any way diminished the backlog of people wanting to resettle in America. Our consulates across the world report larger numbers of applicants for immigration visas. Nearly three million people were waiting for visas in 1992, up from 2.2 million in 1988.

Refugee numbers worldwide have gone from 8 million in 1980 to 18 million in 1992. The majority of these desperate people are fervently hoping for a chance to rebuild their lives in our midst. America is the preferred destination for nearly all refugees.

Hundreds of thousands of people choose to bypass the legal obstacles to immigration altogether, entering and settling in the United States without the requisite documents. The Center for Immigration Studies estimates that despite the 1986 amnesty that legalized more than 3 million illegal immigrants, by 1992, 4.8 million people were again living illegally in the country, and that this core population was expanding at the rate of about 300,000 every year.

THE NEW REALITIES

Behind the crush for admission to the United States lie several developments of far-reaching consequence.

First, and most significant, is the continuing population explosion in all parts of the less developed world. Every year, about 90 million people are added to the world's population, most of them in countries already incapable of supporting their population.

Overpopulation itself is an actual or potential cause of instability, creating masses of restless young people who face a lifetime of chronic underemployment. Furthermore, every political upheaval or natural disaster displaces more individuals than would have been the case if the area had been less populated. This causes rapid buildups of refugees, and the sheer number of unfortunate people in flight commands world attention.

Another major characteristic of our age is the presence of sophisticated electronic communications technology which can quickly bring the suffering of the most remote and unfamiliar people, from every corner of the world, right into our living rooms. Night after night, the television image of the starving children of Somalia, the products of a total breakdown in civil government, became a silent guest at our plentiful dinner tables — a morally painful situation that eventually led to American military intervention on their behalf.

Finally, there is the fact that it is possible to physically remove thousands of people from the locus of their misery and transport them to the United States. Only a few hours' flight separate the wretched refugees in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia from a comparatively peaceful life in the United States.

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These new realities — overpopulation, instant electronic news coverage, and mass transportation — raise serious questions about the adequacy of the traditional guidelines we call upon in trying to meet our moral obligations toward the world's less fortunate human beings.

The most fundamental principle of ethical behavior, as articulated by society's seats of moral authority, is invariably some version of the Golden Rule: Love thy neighbor as thyself. This precept is deeply ingrained in individuals raised in Judeo-Christian cultures. It underlies our standard codes of neighborliness. Appeals to it can produce collective acts of remarkable generosity. It can be said, without exaggeration, that in Western societies the internalization of the Golden Rule is considered the true hallmark of civilized human beings.

"With the advent of modern instant communications, the neighborhood has been expanded well beyond the confines of one's community to include the whole world."

It is obvious, though usually unstated in religious teachings, that there is a very practical side to the Golden Rule that strongly reinforces its moral sway. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you" tacitly sets up a social contract that implies long-term mutual benefits: be helpful to your neighbor in his time of need, so that you may count on him to reciprocate when you, in turn, are helpless. The power of the Golden Rule is precisely this: its lofty appeal to conscience, reinforced by the practical wisdom of the command.

With the advent of modern instant communications, the neighborhood has been expanded well beyond the confines of one's community to include the whole world. The suffering of a hungry and hopeless Haitian becomes every bit as vivid as the tragedies that afflict the family next door. More so, perhaps. A sense of privacy separates us from our neighbor's pain, while the rawest emotions are communicated on our television screens.

These demographic and technological changes pose a new challenge to the application of the Golden Rule: how do I love my neighbor as myself when *every* poor and downtrodden human being in this overpopulated world *is* my neighbor?

THE SEARCH FOR MORAL GUIDELINES

The above question is very new. Until quite recently, moral decisions tended to be made on the basis of absolute principles that disregarded considerations of scale.

But, in a world of limited resources, how many of the world's hundreds of millions of unfortunates is one to help? Is it better to share more fully with a few individuals or is less help to more people the better choice?

We have few guidelines to rely on as we earnestly grope for answers.

Traditionalist authorities might want to call upon the life of St. Francis of Assisi to support their views of moral obligation. This revered saint has given us an inspiring example of a man born to wealth who chooses to abandon its comforts and live a life of shared poverty as a mendicant among lepers and outcasts.

But renunciation is not a serviceable model for today's Americans. The appeal to our conscience is not for us to share the misery of the most miserable on this earth but to improve their lives through our acts of compassion and generosity. The number of totally selfless saints that a modern society can afford is rather small. A nation of good-hearted mendicants cannot long sustain itself, let alone help others.

The wise sharing of our possessions, rather than their renunciation, is the paradigm we seek. In this context, the example that comes to mind is that of St. Martin of Tours, who gave away one-half of his cloak to a naked beggar he encountered on the road. One wonders, however, what St. Martin would have done had he met up with twenty naked and shivering beggars. Would he have selected one or two for covering and let the others freeze? And, if so, on what basis would he have selected these fortunate few over all the others? Or would this holy man have split his garment into twenty-one equal but inadequate pieces, which would have shielded no one from the cold? Are both decisions equally virtuous, though one is patently foolish?

THE QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS OF CHARITY

For lack of better quantitative guidelines for charitable behavior, we can perhaps draw upon

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tithing as a nearly universal prescription. The concept that decent people should spend a tenth of their revenues on the Church and on good works is well-established throughout the Judeo-Christian world. A quota of ten percent of income for charity is probably to be interpreted as a minimum, to be exceeded by those who can afford to give more. One respected source in the Jewish literature on *Zedaka* proposes a maximum of twenty percent, cautioning that those who give more run the risk of becoming paupers themselves.

A meaningful inhibition on excessive giving could be deduced from strong prohibitions in Jewish law against suicide. To knowingly risk serious injury to oneself and one's family, albeit in the interest of helping another, could be considered suicidal behavior, which is abhorrent.

In modern societies, many of the functions of the Church that were once financed by tithing have been taken over by governments. Through taxation, Americans already contribute far more than the traditional one-tenth to numerous social programs designed to help the sick, the elderly, the disabled, the very young, and the poor among us. Through taxation, they also contribute to numerous aid programs abroad, including significant payments to the United Nations for refugee relief programs.

In addition to "charity through taxation," Americans voluntarily give to numerous good causes, both here and in other countries. When disaster strikes anywhere, Americans can be counted on for generous assistance. Thus, through public and private channels, Americans are more than fulfilling the moral injunction to contribute at least one-tenth of their incomes to helping others.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN A SECULAR SOCIETY

Our country was founded by deeply devout people escaping persecution for their religious beliefs, and looking for a chance to worship freely on these shores. Despite these origins, America is a determinedly secular society. Religion has surely been the foremost spiritual influence in our common culture, but it is by no means the only influence. In fact, despite fairly high levels of church attendance, preoccupation with things spiritual is not one of our national characteristics. Unfriendly critics often describe us as materialistic. Friendlier observers might say that we are pragmatists, people who take pride in their good common sense. Science, and the technological changes it has spawned, have markedly shaped us and influenced the character of our people and our country.

In determining what immigration and refugee policies stand the test of compliance with the Golden Rule, the conclusions reached by religious leaders differ sharply from those reached by the vast majority of the American public. The difference lies, in part, in the classic dichotomy between faith and reason.

"...these differing understandings of the nature of resource-constraints have produced a coalition of vocal religious leaders who unabashedly use their influence with politicians to plead for more refugee and immigrant admissions."

At issue is the question of how real, how immediate, and how tyrannical are our resource constraints. People of unshakable faith can afford to be rather less concerned about all this, convinced as they are that "God will provide." Resource management is definitely simpler for those who believe, literally or figuratively, the lessons of the five loaves of bread and a few fish multiplied to feed a crowd.

Most Americans, however, whether church-affiliated or not, rely on their empirical observations that quantities do matter. That is why they choose to have small families. That is why they want to reduce, rather than expand, the incessant flow of refugees and immigrants.

These differing understandings of the nature of resource-constraints have produced a coalition of vocal religious leaders who unabashedly use their influence with politicians to plead for more refugee and immigrant admissions; on the other side we see much of the American public experiencing severe job shortages, spiraling budget deficits, a declining standard of living, a sense of cultural unraveling — and suffering from a prolonged case of "compassion fatigue" — resisting the official policy of increased immigration admissions.

Democratic societies can accommodate many divergent viewpoints, of course. It would hardly

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create a ripple of interest if those still anchored to the ethical standards of a time when "neighbor" meant the people next door would follow their own conscience and share all their personal possessions with the world's suffering poor. But immigrant and refugee admissions to the United States are not the religious leadership's to give. That gift must come from the American people, many of whom now feel a compelling need to cut back on immigration.

"...the costs of [the refugees'] resettlement and ongoing support does not fall crushingly upon the religious institutions that lobbied for their admission, but are imposed on the American commonwealth."

In our society, religious institutions and their leaders are highly respected and exert great moral influence. They have, however, been carefully kept from exercising official authority, in application of the principle of separation between church and state. Yet, time and again, the religious leadership has skillfully manipulated its prestige and moral influence into political coercion, winning concessions on immigration, in a process somewhat akin to moral blackmail. The technique has been highly successful, but inevitably creates resentment.

For, once the refugees are admitted to the United States, the costs of their resettlement and ongoing support does not fall crushingly upon the religious institutions that lobbied for their admission, but are imposed upon the American commonwealth. The pattern of resettlement practice that has developed concentrates the prestige and moral glory of the resettlement effort in the hands of the religious humanitarians, but the taxpayer is made to pick up the tab, and to feel unworthy because he isn't happy about it.

Secular humanitarians have also found much to like in this arrangement. And so has that entire spectrum of professionals engaged in "the helping professions" and "human services," for whom the continued refugee influx represents not only a livelihood but a *raison d'etre* and a source of social prestige.

THE PERMANENT CRISIS

Working together, the coalition of religious and secular humanitarian interests has succeeded in keeping American refugee and immigration policies on an expansionary course. It has failed, however, to alter the increasingly negative attitudes of many Americans toward massive immigration.

By any available measurement — national public opinion polls, constituent mail to congressional offices, offers from host families to sponsor incoming refugees — there has been a steady decline in support for more refugee resettlement in the United States.

There are many obvious explanations for this development, including fears about the economy and competition for jobs. But there are also some less obvious reasons:

1. **The Failure to Induce Guilt** - In view of their historic generosity toward the world's poor and homeless, Americans fail to feel sinful because they are not doing more; on the contrary, they tend to perceive pressure from the humanitarian lobby as a case of the self-righteous browbeating the righteous.

2. **The Obligation Toward America's Disadvantaged** - In the sixties, Americans pledged themselves to helping our own disadvantaged minorities move toward full participation in American life. This has required enormous sacrifices on the part of the majority population, not only in unprecedented outlays of monies for social programs but also, through affirmative action and other compensatory programs, the sacrificing of opportunities for themselves and their children in the interest of greater social equality. Even so, the promise to disadvantaged Americans has not been fulfilled. Events such as the riots in Los Angeles in the spring of 1992 bespeak of increasing competition between inner city blacks and immigrants, and point to immigration's role in obstructing the economic advancement of our black citizens.

3. **The Breakdown of Assimilation** - Two decades of massive immigration have strained our assimilative capacities. As immigration spiraled toward record levels, government policies veered away from encouraging assimilation, toward support for programs that emphasize cultural differences and downplay our common bonds. The consequences are palpable in the ethnic segregation of our classrooms

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and urban neighborhoods, and in deteriorating intergroup relations. In many parts of the country, the evident displacement of English and of the core civic culture has alienated the members of the host society, who find themselves unwelcome and out-of-place in their own communities.

The issue of the cultural breakup of the American mainstream, and its relation to immigration, has not yet been fully articulated. But it is deeply felt by ever more Americans whose values and traditions are undergoing steady devaluation.

4. **The Permanent Crisis And Psychological Self-preservation** - In the past, refugee "crises" seemed to be temporary problems that really could be resolved through swift resettlement in another country, particularly the United States. Under this assumption, we enacted legislation to accept some 400,000 displaced persons after World War II, and again 100,000 Hungarians after the failed revolt of 1956. The Cuban exodus that started when Castro came to power has brought us some one million refugees over two decades. The flow continues today at a diminished rate, but Castro's eventual demise seems sure to launch another massive exodus. The size of the Cuban migration should have given us occasion to reflect on the chain-effect of refugee admissions, but that phenomenon has hardly received any attention.

"The issue of the breakup of the American cultural mainstream, and its relation to immigration, has not yet been fully articulated."

Beginning with the airlift of some 100,000 Indochinese in the wake of the American pull-out from Vietnam in 1975, we have seen a steady succession of refugee crises. The first wave of refugees were accepted on the basis of their direct association with Americans during the war years, and the dangers they would face in the communist take-over. In subsequent waves, the American connection with those in flight became more tenuous, and the term "refugee" underwent constant reinterpretation. Today, nearly a million Indochinese live in the United States, virtually all refugees who came after 1975, and their American-born children.

Other refugee crises have arisen across the globe with regularity — Afghans fleeing civil war, Ethiopians running from hunger and armed conflicts, Sri Lankans escaping religious and ethnic persecutions, Gypsies fleeing Rumanian nationalists, Somalis running from starvation, Haitians running from poverty and oppression, and people leaving the chaos of former Soviet and Yugoslav republics engaged in wars of vengeance.

These unceasing crises, projected in full color on our television screens, tend to have a dulling effect over time. This is not mean-spiritedness but a psychological survival mechanism that sets in after emotionally wrenching expenditures of sympathy. It is a fact of life that extraordinary mobilization of compassion cannot be maintained indefinitely; to stay psychologically and emotionally balanced, we must "turn off and tune out" at some point in order to go on with the routine business of living our own lives.

5. **The Reciprocity Factor** - It is especially difficult to adhere to the most generous interpretation of the Golden Rule when the "neighbor" is a stranger in a distant land. In the case of refugees from very different cultures in unfamiliar parts of the world, the assumption that we can expect reciprocity from these individuals in the future is very weak, and fails to reinforce the charitable impulse.

Yet Americans, like other people of good will, can become deeply aroused again and again when a new political or natural catastrophe is visited upon some corner of the world, and the distress is relayed through the electronic media. People's most generous impulses are reawakened, and once again they look to the traditional sources of moral authority for guidance.

The moral authorities they consult at those times have only predictable answers, dating back from an era when the world was not yet a Global Village: "Open your door, open your heart, open your pocketbook."

Unfortunately, that is no longer serviceable advice. The symbolic resettlement of a small number of true political refugees is surely desirable and consistent with the benevolent affections of our people, but large-scale refugee resettlement in the United States has ceased to be a practical option. In an overpopulated world, the capacity to unleash disasters and to inflict suffering far exceeds this nation's capacity to absorb the victims.

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The humanitarian establishment has been notably reticent to re-examine the meaning of neighborliness in the Global Village. It has been unwilling to acknowledge America's limits, and to assuage and comfort the troubled conscience of people seeking to do what's right.

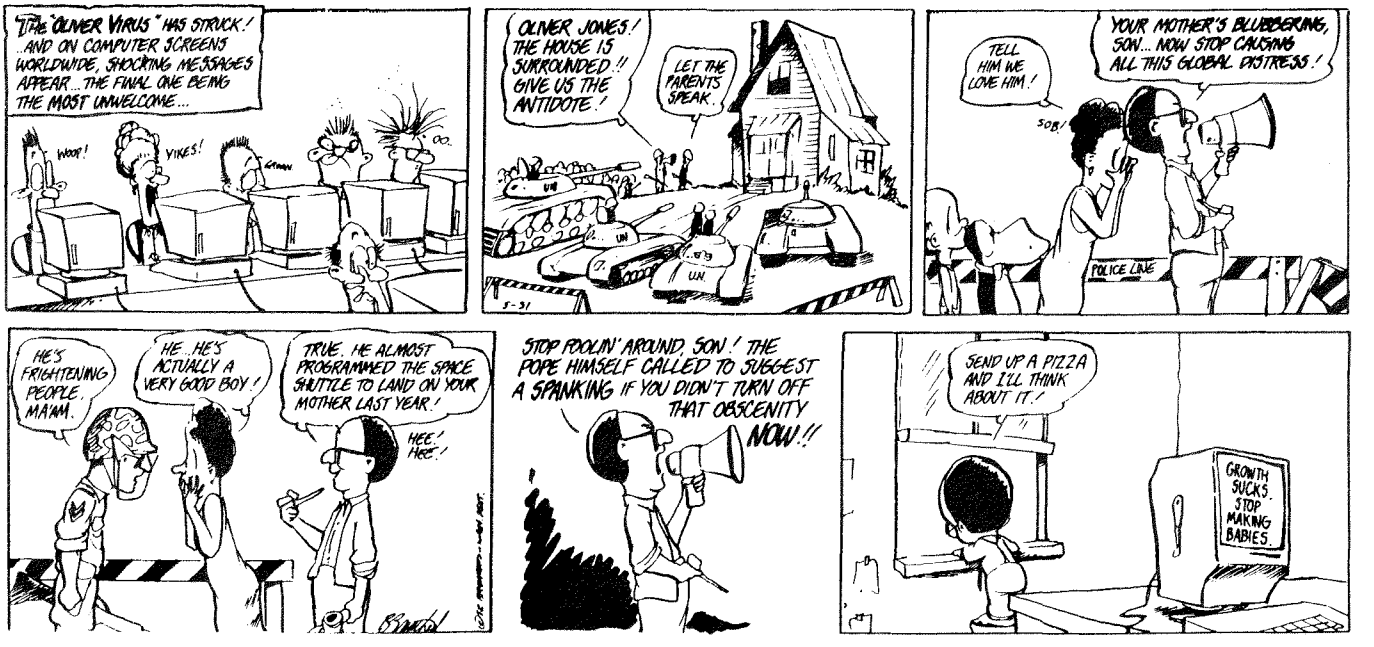
The attitude of our moral leaders is not likely to change — at least not as long as the government continues to pay for the resettlement work done by churches and other "humanitarian" lobbies, instead of requiring them to carry the costs of resettling the people they bring in.

We thus find ourselves in a moral leadership vacuum that must be filled. We can hope that a new generation of theologians and secular ethicists will soon arise, steeped in the ecological and demographic realities of the Global Village, to articulate appropriate contemporary corollaries to the Golden Rule.

And while we await a teaching tailored to our age, we may do well to ponder that of Rabbi Hillel who, nearly a century before the Christian era, related selflessness to the imperatives of self-preservation, in a passage of disarming simplicity (the emphasis is mine):

If *I* am not for myself, *who* will be for me?
If I am *only* for myself, what am I?
If not *now*, when? ■

OUTLAND **BY BERKELEY BREATHED**


"THE OLIVER VIRUS" HAS STRUCK! ..AND ON COMPUTER SCREENS WORLDWIDE, SHOCKING MESSAGES APPEAR...THE FINAL ONE BEING THE MOST UNWELCOME...
WOOP!
YIKES!
OLIVER JONES! THE HOUSE IS SURROUNDED.!! GIVE US THE ANTIDOTE!
LET THE PARENTS SPEAK.
UN
YOUR MOTHER'S BLUBBERING, SON... NOW STOP CAUSING ALL THIS GLOBAL DISTRESS!
TELL HIM WE LOVE HIM!
SOB!
POLICE LINE
HE'S FRIGHTENING PEOPLE, MA'AM.
HE...HE'S ACTUALLY A VERY GOOD BOY!
TRUE. HE ALMOST PROGRAMMED THE SPACE SHUTTLE TO LAND ON YOUR MOTHER LAST YEAR!
HEE! HEE!
STOP FOOLIN' AROUND, SON! THE POPE HIMSELF CALLED TO SUGGEST A SPANKING IF YOU DIDN'T TURN OFF THAT OBSCENITY NOW!!
SEND UP A PIZZA AND I'LL THINK ABOUT IT!
GROWTH SUCKS. STOP MAKING BABIES.

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Stephen D. Mumford has his doctorate in Public Health. He has decades of international experience in fertility research and has recently returned from Vietnam where he spent a month studying a new technique of female sterilization. In 1981 he received the Margaret Mead Leadership Prize in Population and Ecology.

National Security Study Memorandum 200:

World Population Growth and U.S. Security

By Stephen D. Mumford

> *We must help break the link between spiraling population growth and poverty. ...Where they have been tried, family planning programs have largely worked. ...Many pro-life advocates ...contend that to condone abortion even implicitly is morally unconscionable. Their view is morally shortsighted. ...if we provide funds for birth control ...we will prevent the conception of millions of babies who would be doomed to the devastation of poverty in the underdeveloped world.*
>
> — Richard M. Nixon
> *Seize the Moment*
> (Simon & Schuster, 1992)

President Nixon has recently reasserted his belief that overpopulation gravely threatens world peace and stability. He ranks assistance in population growth as the most important effort the United States can undertake to promote peace and stability. During his presidency he authorized the study that came to be known as NSSM 200 — National Security Study Memorandum 200. In order to effectively examine the content and fate of NSSM 200, we need to backtrack a bit to the Rockefeller Commission which was discussed in the Summer 1992 issue of this journal.

From his first days in office, President Nixon understood the grave dangers of high rates of population growth — more than any other president. He responded appropriately when he perceived that his people and their way of life were gravely threatened. Seven months into his first term, in a rare move for a president, he delivered his *Special Message to the Congress.*[1]

The message set forth a far-reaching commitment to limiting population growth. It set in motion a broad range of government activities, both domestic and international. It called for the creation of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future to collect and analyze data that would make possible the formulation of a comprehensive United States population policy.

In March, 1970, the U.S. Congress created The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, which completed its work in March 1972. Its final report offered more than 70 recommendations. Collectively, they constituted a detailed blueprint for a superb national population policy.

WHY WAS THE COMMISSION'S FINAL REPORT IGNORED?

1972 was a presidential election year and President Nixon was facing a difficult reelection bid, so when a delegation of the Commission presented the Final Report to him on May 5, 1972, six months before election day, he sharply condemned the most important recommendations.[2] Why was he attempting to distance himself from the report? In the words of a Commission member, Congressman James Scheuer (D.-NY): "The reasons were obvious — the fear of attacks from the far right and from the Roman Catholic Church because of our positions on family planning and abortion. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now clear that this obstruction was the first of many similar actions to come from high places."[3]

During the following two-year period, it became increasingly clear that there would be no response to the Commission's recommendations. In May 1974, a group of pioneer population activists acknowledged this inaction and asked Ambassador Adolph Schmidt

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to speak with his friend, Commission Chairman, John D. Rockefeller III. They met in June, 1974 in New York City. Schmidt noted his own disappointment and that of his colleagues because no program had been mounted as a result of the recommendations. What had gone wrong? Rockefeller responded: "The greatest difficulty has been the very active opposition by the Roman Catholic Church through its various agencies in the United States."[4]

"...a definitive interagency study of the threat of overpopulation to U.S. security ... NSSM 200 details how and why world population growth threatens U.S. and global security."

None of the Commission's 70 recommendations were ever implemented. It is tragic that the American people have been kept in the dark about this bold opposition by the Vatican and other pronatalist groups. Lay Catholic Americans desire the same number of children as non-Catholic Americans,[5] use contraceptives[6] and obtain abortions[7] in the same proportions, support school-based population information and sex education[8] for their children, and advocate a halt to illegal immigration[9] into the U.S. in the same proportions. No doubt, both Catholic and non-Catholic Americans would have strongly counter-balanced this bold obstruction of American policy had they been aware of it. The quality of life for all of us has been significantly diminished by this change in policy, in substantial measure at the behest of pronatalist pressures from the Vatican.

PRESIDENT NIXON MAKES A BOLD MOVE

Despite the intense opposition of the Catholic hierarchy he encountered in the wake of the Rockefeller Commission, President Nixon's assessment of the gravity of the overpopulation problem and his desire to deal with it remained unchanged. On April 24, 1974, in an effort to contend with this crisis, in National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200), Nixon directed that a study be undertaken to determine the "Implications of World Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests."[10] Its findings would be momentous indeed.

I can only speculate, but the President must surely have been aware that this new document would meet with the same intense opposition from the Vatican and others as the earlier one. However, perhaps he felt that a definitive study of the national and global security implications of overpopulation, revealing that the very security of the United States was seriously threatened, would generate public demand for action to curb growth. That might serve to overcome the pressures being exerted by the opponents. Why else would he have undertaken this study, given his painful experience after the Rockefeller Commission?

NSSM 200

To implement NSSM 200, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, acting for the President, directed the Secretaries of Defense and Agriculture, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Deputy Secretary of State and the Administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID), to jointly undertake "a study of the impact of world population growth on U.S. security and overseas interests." This work was completed on December 10, 1974 and circulated to the designated Secretaries and Agency heads for their review and comments.

Meanwhile, on August 9, 1974, Gerald Ford had succeeded to the presidency. Revisions to the study continued until July, 1975. On November 26, 1975, the 227-page report and its recommendations were endorsed by President Ford in National Security Decision Memorandum 314: "The President has reviewed the interagency response to NSSM 200...," wrote the new National Security Advisor, Brent Scowcroft. "He believes that United States leadership is essential to combat population growth, to implement the World Population Plan of Action and to advance United States security and overseas interests. The President endorses the policy recommendations contained in the Executive Summary of the NSSM 200 response..."

President Ford, recognizing the gravity of the situation, assigned responsibility for further action to the National Security Council (NSC): "The President, therefore, assigns to the Chairman, NSC Undersecretaries Committee, the responsibility to define and develop policy in the population field and to coordinate its implementation beyond the NSSM 200 response."

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NSSM 200 was intended to be and is a definitive interagency study of the threat of overpopulation to U.S. security. NSSM 200 details how and why world population growth gravely threatens U.S. and global security. It also provides a blueprint for the U.S. response to this burgeoning problem, reflecting the deep concern of those who produced the report. Because of the bold nature of the suggested initiatives, the authors recommended that the report remain classified for 5 years in order to provide time to educate the American public as to the necessity of these initiatives. The NSSM 200 report actually remained classified for 14 years.

Both the findings and the recommendations are as relevant in 1992 as they were in 1975, but too numerous to list here in their entirety. To mention a selected few:

NSSM 200 reports:

> *There is a major risk of severe damage* [caused by continued rapid population growth] *to world economic, political, and ecological systems and, as these systems begin to fail, to our humanitarian values* [Executive Summary, page 10].

The sense of near emergency is electric:

> *...world population growth is widely recognized within the government as a current danger of the highest magnitude calling for urgent measures* [Page 194]. *...it is of the utmost urgency that governments now recognize the facts and implications of population growth, determine the ultimate population sizes that make sense for their countries and start vigorous programs at once to achieve their desired goals* [Page 15].

The threat to security briefly summarized,

> *...population factors are indeed critical in, and often determinants of, violent conflict in developing areas. Segmental (religious, social, racial) differences, migration, rapid population growth, differential levels of knowledge and skills, rural/urban differences, population pressure and the spatial location of population in relation to resources — in this rough order of importance — all appear to be important contributions to conflict and violence... Clearly, conflicts which are regarded in primarily political terms often have demographic roots. Recognition of these relationships appears crucial to any understanding or prevention of such hostilities* [Page 66].

The report gives three examples of population wars: the El Salvador-Honduras "Soccer War," the Nigerian Civil War, and the Pakistan-India-Bangladesh War, 1970-71. (With hindsight, we can see that the two-decade-long civil war in Lebanon is another classic example, and that the civil wars in The Sudan, Somalia and other countries on the African continent are realizations of the projections made in NSSM 200. South Africa is on the brink. War between Israel and Arab countries fueled by population growth is all but inevitable.)

> *Where population size is greater than available resources, or is expanding more rapidly than the available resources, there is a tendency toward internal disorders and violence and, sometimes, disruptive international policies or violence* [Page 69].

(This was a vital element, surely, in the 1991 U.S.-Iraq War, much more costly than decades of successful worldwide population growth control.)

> *In developing countries, the burden of population factors, added to others, will weaken unstable governments, often only marginally effective in good times, and open the way to extremist regimes* [Page 84].

(The Sudan is a vivid recent example.)

The depth of concern for this ominous and progressive threat to national security is reflected in the objectives and goals outlined in the report:

> *The World Population Plan of Action and the resolutions adopted by consensus of the 137 nations at the August 1974 U.N. World Population Conference, though not ideal, provide an excellent framework for developing a worldwide system of population/family planning programs* [Executive Summary, page 19].

At the UN World Population Conference, only the Vatican opposed the Plan:

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...the Conference adopted by acclamation (only the Holy See stating a general reservation) a complete World Population Plan of Action [Page 87].

SUGGESTED GOALS AND MEANS

Our objective should be to assure that developing countries make family planning information, education and means available to all their peoples by 1980 [Page 130]. *...intense efforts are required to assure full availability by 1980 of birth control information and means to all fertile individuals, especially in rural areas* [Executive Summary, page 9].

While specific goals in this area are difficult to state, our aim should be for the world to achieve a replacement level of fertility, (a two-child family on the average), by about the year 2000. ...Attainment of this goal will require greatly intensified population programs ... U.S. leadership is essential [Executive Summary, page 14].

It is now all too clear how crucial this leadership was. The U.S. withdrew from this role shortly after the election of President Carter, just one year after the initiation of public policy based on the report. Initiatives for curtailment of population growth have been deteriorating ever since.

... After suitable preparation in the U.S., announce a U.S. goal to maintain our present national average fertility no higher than replacement level and attain stability by 2000 [Executive Summary, page 19]. *Only nominal attention is [currently] given to population education or sex education in schools...*[Page 158] *... Recommendation: That U.S. agencies stress the importance of education of the next generation of parents, starting in elementary schools, toward a two-child family ideal. That AID (the Agency for International Development) stimulate specific efforts to develop means of educating children of elementary school age to the ideal of the two-child family...*[Page 159].

Despite the Helms Amendment, which clearly ruled out abortion assistance in U.S. foreign aid programs, there was a clear consensus that continued widespread use of abortion would be required to meet/attain the objective.

While the agencies participating in this study have no specific recommendations to propose on abortion, the following issues are believed important and should be considered in the context of a global population strategy. ...Certain facts about abortion need to be appreciated:
— No country has reduced its population growth without resorting to abortion [Page 182].
— Indeed, abortion, legal and illegal, now has become the most widespread fertility control method in use in the world today [Page 183].
— It would be unwise to restrict abortion research for the following reasons: 1) The persistent and ubiquitous nature of abortion. 2) Widespread lack of safe abortion techniques...[Page 185].

An important goal in NSSM 200 dealt with leadership:

These programs will have only modest success until there is much stronger and wider acceptance of their real importance by leadership groups. Such acceptance and support will be essential to assure that the population information, education and service programs have vital moral backing, administrative capacity, technical skills and government financing [Page 195].

The report recommended spending whatever could reasonably be absorbed to achieve these goals:

We recommend increases in the AID budget requests to the Congress on the order of $35-$50 million annually through FY 1980 (above the $137.5 million requested for FY 1975)... However, the level of funds needed in the future could change significantly, depending on such factors as major breakthroughs in fertility control technologies and LDC receptivity to population assistance [Executive Summary, page 24].

A ONE-CHILD FAMILY POLICY FOR THE U.S.

We know that even after a country reduces fertility to the replacement level, that, thanks to the phenomenon of momentum, the population continues

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to grow for another 70 years before stability is achieved. A goal of NSSM 200 was to attain this stability here by the year 2000. One of the chief coordinators of the NSSM 200 study recently acknowledged that the government recognized the one-child family norm would be necessary to achieve this goal and was under obligation to encourage Americans to limit family size.

NO ACCOMMODATION TO THE VATICAN

The study frankly dismissed the arguments that have been raised by the Vatican to counter efforts to reduce population growth. The position of the Roman Catholic Church on population growth centers on the need for economic development in Third World countries as a way to bring growth rates down. NSSM 200 takes an entirely different tack:

> *We cannot wait for overall modernization and development to produce lower fertility rates naturally since this will undoubtedly take many decades in most developing countries...* [Executive Summary, page 7]. *Clearly development per se is a powerful determinant of fertility. However, since it is unlikely that most LDCs will develop sufficiently during the next 25-30 years, it is crucial to identify those sectors that most directly and powerfully affect fertility* [Page 137].
>
> *There is also even less cause for optimism on the rapidity of socio-economic progress that would generate rapid fertility reduction in the poor LDCs, than on the feasibility of extending family planning services to those in their populations who may wish to take advantage of them* [Page 99].

This directly opposes the Vatican position.

> *But we can be certain of the desirable direction of change and can state as a plausible objective the target of achieving replacement fertility rates by the year 2000* [Page 99].

These statements manifestly rule out *any* accommodation to the Vatican on the issue of population growth control.

BIRTH CONTROL PERCEIVED AS A THREAT TO PAPAL AUTHORITY

Why is the Roman Catholic Church obliged to halt legalized abortion and contraception despite the strong wishes of Americans?

In *Papal Power: A Study of Vatican Control Over Lay Catholic Elites* (The University of California Press, 1980), Jean-Guy Vaillancourt, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Montreal, closely examines the sources of papal power. It is derived in significant part from papal authority. If the Pope's authority is diminished, papal power is diminished. However, some authority is derived from papal power and if papal power is diminished, then authority is undermined. The relationship is circular. Less authority means less power which means even less authority. With diminishing power, survival of the institution of the Roman Catholic Church in its present hierarchical form is gravely threatened. Thus, the very survival of the Vatican is threatened by programs to control population growth.

In April, 1992, in an exceedingly rare public admission of this threat, Cardinal John O'Connor of New York, delivering a major address to the Franciscan University of Steubenville, acknowledged, "The fact is that attacks on the Catholic Church's stance on abortion — unless they are rebutted — effectively erode Church authority on all matters, indeed on the authority of God himself."

This threat was recognized decades ago by the Papal Commission on Population and Birth Control which met from 1964 until 1966. According to Commission member Thomas Burch, the Pope himself assigned the Commission the task of finding a way of modifying the Church's position on birth control without destroying papal authority, which is absolutely essential for the continued survival of the Vatican and the Catholic Church as we know it today. The Commission failed to find a way and the result was the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* which banned the use of contraception.

The Vatican clearly believes that if solutions to the population problem are applied, the teaching of the church will be undermined and the dominance of the papacy will be vitiated. Thus, it is convinced that it cannot compromise on the issue of birth control, regardless of our national policy. NSSM 200 forthrightly opposes Rome on population strategy, family planning and abortion in the interest of national security. — Stephen Mumford

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IMPLEMENTATION OF NSSM 200 IS BROUGHT TO A HALT

During 1976, Catholic activists worked diligently to undermine population growth control efforts. Dr. R.T. Ravenholt, who directed the global population program of the U.S. Agency for International Development in the Department of State from 1966 to 1979, tells the story. On March 4, 1991, he addressed the Washington State Chapter of Zero Population Growth (ZPG) on "Pronatalist Zealotry and Population Pressure Conflicts: How Catholics Seized Control of U.S. Family Planning Programs," and described some of these activities:

> *Following a meeting of Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter and his campaign staff with fifteen Catholic leaders at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., on August 31, 1976, on which occasion they pressed Carter to deemphasize federal support for family planning in exchange for a modicum of Catholic support for his presidential race... Joseph Califano became Secretary of HEW... When Father Hesburgh [President of Notre Dame University] declined the role of AID Administrator, the appointment was given to John J. Gilligan, a Notre Dame graduate and a former governor of Ohio... John H. Sullivan moved from Congressman Clement Zablocki's office into AID... Congressman Zablocki and Jack Sullivan had persistently worked to curb AID's high powered family planning program. In 1973, Jack Sullivan and allied zealots helped Senator Jesse Helms develop the Helms Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act.*[11]

AN IMPORTANT DISCLOSURE: *TIME* MAGAZINE TELLS IT LIKE IT IS

The headline on the cover of the February 24, 1992 issue of *TIME* magazine was: "Holy Alliance: How Reagan and the Pope Conspired to Assist Poland's Solidarity Movement and Hasten the Demise of Communism," referring to an article written by prize-winning journalist Carl Bernstein. He reports:

> *The Catholic Team: The key Administration players were all devout Roman Catholics — CIA chief William Casey, [Richard] Allen [Reagan's first National Security Advisor], [William] Clark [Reagan's second National Security Advisor], [Alexander] Haig [Secretary of State], [Vernon] Walters [Ambassador at Large] and William Wilson, Reagan's first ambassador to the Vatican. They regarded the U.S.-Vatican relationship as a holy alliance: the moral force of the Pope and the teachings of their church com-bined with ... their notion of American democracy.*

In a section of his *TIME* article headed, "The U.S. and the Vatican on Birth Control," Bernstein writes three very revealing paragraphs:

> *In response to concerns of the Vatican, the Reagan Administration agreed to alter its foreign aid program to comply with the church's teachings on birth control. According to William Wilson, the President's first ambassador to the Vatican, the State Department reluctantly agreed to an out-right ban on the use of any U.S. aid funds by either countries or international health organizations for the promotion of...abortions. As a result of this position, announced at the World Conference on Population in Mexico City in 1984, the U.S. withdrew funding from, among others, two of the world's largest family planning organizations: the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities.*
>
> *'American policy was changed as a result of the Vatican's not agreeing with our policy,' Wilson explains. 'American aid programs around the world did not meet the criteria the Vatican had for family planning. AID [the Agency for International Development] sent various people from [the Department of] State to Rome, and I'd accompany them to meet the president of the Pontifical Council for the Family, and in long discussions they finally got the message. But it was a struggle. They finally selected different programs and abandoned others as a result of this intervention.'*
>
> *'I might have touched on that in some of my discussions with [CIA director William] Casey,' acknowledges Pio Cardinal Laghi, the former apostolic delegate to Washington.*

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'Certainly Casey already knew about our positions about that.'

Bernstein makes clear what the cadre of devout Catholics in the Reagan Administration did to protect the papacy and Catholic teaching from the potential fall-out from NSSM 200. He quotes the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, William Wilson, who reveals that during the Reagan Administration, papal policy on birth control and abortion replaced the policy set forth by NSSM 200; and so the 21st century will be irredeemably less livable because of "this intervention."

A CODE OF SILENCE CLOAKS THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF NSSM 200

Immediately after President Ford adopted the recommendations of NSSM 200 on November 26, 1975, a peculiar silence fell over the whole matter. The report was never printed. There are only a handful of photocopies. Those who wrote the report recommended that it be classified for 5 years. Werner Fornos, President of the Population Institute, with the aid of several members of Congress, succeeded in getting the NSSM 200 report declassified for a brief period in 1976. Despite his best efforts, and the explosiveness of this report detailing major changes in the lives of every American, he was unable to achieve any press coverage whatsoever. Instead, he found the report reclassified as a result of the objections of "members of the national security establishment" to the early declassification.

In the end, as noted, the document remained classified for 14 years, rather than the recommended 5 years. Declassification in 1989 apparently resulted from application of the Freedom of Information Act.

THE SILENCE EXTENDS BEYOND NSSM 200

The Vatican must be confronted on this issue. Says Representative Scheuer: "The Roman Catholic Church and its allies cannot be allowed to dictate the rules of the game when it comes to preservation of life on this planet at some level of decency."[12]

Clearly, Carl Bernstein's article in *TIME* has been the most important development in revealing the influences of the Vatican on American policy. Rep. Scheuer's article, published in this journal, and Ravenholt's speech to ZPG were both major advances.

Congressman Scheuer has put it succinctly: "The issue of population growth is too crucial to the future welfare of our nation and of the world to be left to ... the Roman Catholic hierarchy and it allies in the fundamentalist movement."[13] The pressures must be countered so that the rational and measured policies proposed by the Rockefeller Commission and NSSM 200 can be implemented as rapidly as possible. ■

NOTES

[1] Nixon, R. "Special Message to the Congress on Problems of Population Growth," July 18, 1969. *Public Papers of the Presidents*, No. 271, p. 521, Office of the Federal Register, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1971.

[2] Nixon, R. "Statement About the Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future," May 5, 1972. *Public Papers fof the Presidents*, No. 142, p. 576, Office of the Federal Register, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1974.

[3] Scheuer, J. "A Disappointing Outcome: United States and World Population Trends Since the Rockefeller Commission," *The Social Contract*, Summer 1992, pp. 203-206.

[4] Schmidt, A.W., Personal communication, August 28, 1992.

[5] National Security Council, *National Security Study Memorandum 200*, Washington, DC, April 24, 1974. 2 pp.

[6] National Security Council, "NSSM 200: Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests," Washington, DC December 10, 1974, 227 pp.

[7] National Security Council, "National Security Decision Memorandum 314," Washington, DC, November 26, 1975. 4 pp.

[8] NSSM 200, Executive Summary, p. 10.

[9] Ibid, p. 194.

[10] Ibid, p. 15.

[11] Ravenholt, R.T., "Pronatalist Zealotry and Population Pressure Conflicts: How Catholics Seized Control of U.S. Family Planning Programs," Center For Research on Population and Security, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709, May 1992, 27 pp.

[12] Scheuer, J., op. cit., p. 206.

[13] Ibid, p. 205.

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Each year Roman Catholic churches observe "World Migration Day" as a way to encourage pastoral concern for migrants and refugees. The following message was issued by Pope John Paul II circulated on July 31, 1992 for the observance. The text is from L'Osservatore Romano *of August 5, 1992.*

Recognizing Christ in our Neighbor

Pope John Paul II

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

1. The daily news almost always tells us about the movement of poor peoples towards wealthy countries, the drama of refugees turned back at the borders, of migrants who are discriminated against and exploited. Such events cannot fail to have an effect on the conscience of Christians who have made the acceptance in solidarity of those in difficulty a distinguishing characteristic of their faith. Emigration has troublesome implications both because families are separated and uprooted from their culture and those who are forced to leave their own land face an uncertain future.

"Even though developed nations are not always able to assimilate all those who emigrate ... the criterion for determining the level that can be supported cannot be based solely on protecting their own prosperity..."

In this context World Migration Day, which all particular Churches are asked to observe on a Sunday determined by the national episcopal conference, offers everyone the opportunity to reflect on these problems, to become familiar with their critical aspects and to promote a campaign of sensitization and solidarity.

Immigration Today

2. By their concern Christians testify that the community in which the migrant arrives is a community which loves and accepts the stranger with the joy of one who is able to recognize Christ's countenance in that person.

There are many different situations found in the phenomenon of migration today. There are migrants who have been living and working in their adopted society for some time already. These are people who, in the majority of cases, have decided against returning to their native lands and are waiting to be recognized as an integral part of the society whose fortunes and commitment to economic and social development they share. Hastening their complete integration is an act of justice. No matter where they live, human beings have the right to a country in which they can have their own home and find fulfillment in a context of security, trust, harmony and peace.

Specific provisions are needed in this regard to promote and facilitate procedures for reuniting families, and for adopting juridical norms which will assure an effective equality of treatment with native-born workers.

Another factor of great importance will be the environmental and social rehabilitation of decaying neighborhoods in which the immigrants are often forced to live in marginalization. No one can fail to see how it is necessary, by overcoming problems related to unemployment, to work for the elimination of all types of discrimination in the search for a job, a home and in access to health care.

Causes of immigration

3. Much more difficult is the status of undocumented immigrants who are hoping to replace legal migrants as the latter climb the social ladder. No one can deny that the work by which undocumented aliens participate in the common effort of economic development is a *de facto* form of membership in a society. It is a question of giving legitimacy, scope, and dignity to this membership through the adoption of appropriate measures.

Not all undocumented immigrants, however, find a job in the rich, diverse context of the industrialized societies. Their adaptation to conditions

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of hardship is a further confirmation of the humiliating situation to which poverty reduces them in their country. People used to emigrate in order to create better possibilities of life; today people emigrate from many countries merely to survive.

Such a situation also tends to blur the distinction between the concepts of "refugee" and "migrant" to the point that the two categories are merged under the common denomination of "necessity." Even though developed nations are not always able to assimilate all those who emigrate, nonetheless it should be pointed out that the criterion for determining the level that can be supported cannot be based solely on protecting their own prosperity, while failing to take into consideration the needs of persons who are tragically forced to ask for hospitality.

Migration is on the increase today because there is a growing gap in the economic, social and political resources between rich nations and poor ones: there is a smaller number of the former and a growing number of the latter.

"...citizens of the developing countries ...must not expect everything from the more favored countries, but should see themselves as the instruments of their own liberation."

In this scenario, those who succeed in overcoming "national" barriers can, in a certain sense, consider themselves fortunate because they have been allowed to enjoy the crumbs which fall from the table of today's "Diveses." However, who can begin to count the number of poor "Lazaruses" who cannot benefit from them?

As I mentioned in the encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, wealthier nations are invited to take a new look at this very serious problem, conscious that, corresponding to their moral duty to use all their energy to contribute to the solution is the precise right to development enjoyed not only by individuals, but by whole nations (*cf. CA 35*).

Developing Countries' Responsibilities

4. It is evident that the citizens of the developing countries are called to exercise a role of primary importance in this task. They must not expect everything from the more favored countries, but should rather see themselves as the instruments of their own liberation. In every field, they should have a spirit of initiative, establishing special development programs to give the greatest possible latitude to their own freedom and prospects for progress, with priority attention paid to literacy and basic education (*cf. Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, 44*).

Underdevelopment is not inevitable. In order to overcome it, however, it is necessary to call upon the natural and human resources with which every people is endowed. A very important role obviously falls to the young people who are completing their scientific education in industrialized countries. Because of their capacity to blend tradition and change, they are the key to an improved economic and social future for those countries.

Migration related to underdevelopment is a challenge which we must face with courage and determination, since it involves the defense of the human person.

As I mentioned in speaking to the participants in the Third World Congress for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, which was held in the Vatican last October, "experience shows that when a nation has the courage to open itself to immigration, it is rewarded with increased prosperity, a solid social renewal and a vigorous impetus toward new economic and human goals." (*L'Osservatore Romano* [Eng] October 14, 1991, p.9).

Indebtedness to Immigrants

5. Such an observation is best substantiated by the experience connected with the great event of the fifth centenary of the evangelization of America. Without a doubt, the countries of the Americas owe the prestigious role which they have today in the concert of nations to their openness to migration. The celebrations of Columbus' endeavors redirect our attention to the contribution of work and learning made by the migrants who throughout these 500 years were welcomed in those lands whose history is closely interwoven with that of migration. If today the Western and American worlds are to some degree a part of the same reality, this is due to the spiritual affinity created by migration.

It is in the name of this brotherhood that, following my Message for Lent this past year,

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"Called to share the table of creation," I chose to establish *the Populorum Progressio Foundation* to serve the *Indios* and *campesinos* of America as a "sign and witness of the Christian desire for fraternity and...solidarity" (*L'Osservatore Romano* [Eng] April 15, 1992, p.4). I hope that it may find a generous reception and active response on the part of individuals and institutions, especially within the Catholic world, taking into consideration Catholicism's great importance in the countries of this vast geographic area.

The Church's Commitment

6. Migration has frequently given the particular Churches the opportunity to authenticate and strengthen their own Catholic sense by accepting various ethnic groups and especially by creating communion with them. The Church's unity does not stem from her members having an identical origin, but rather from the Spirit of Pentecost, who makes all nations a new people whose goal is the kingdom, whose condition is the freedom of sons and daughters, and whose statute is the law of love (*cf. Lumen Centium, 9*).

The Church's commitment to be the "neighbor" of all peoples is a response to the will of the heavenly Father who embraces everyone in his love. The one goal to which she tends is to call all people to greater solidarity in the new brotherhood in Christ in the family of God.

May the Virgin Mother, who always shows her concern for those in need and is therefore sensitive to all those who personally experience the hardship of migration, comfort and help all those who live far from home and inspire others to sentiments of understanding and acceptance in their regard.

With these wishes I gladly impart to all those who promote the noble, urgent cause of migrants my apostolic blessing as a pledge of abundant heavenly favors.

From the Vatican, July 31, 1992
the 14th year of my Pontificate
John Paul II

* * *

POPULORUM PROGRESSIO FOUNDATION

In a February 13, 1992 letter, Pope John Paul II established a new charitable organization serving the indigenous and rural populations of Latin America—the *Populorum Progressio Foundation*. This was made public by Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, President of the Pontifical Council *Cor Unum*, during an April 9th conference.

In his letter, the Holy Father explains that the purpose of the Foundation is "to promote the integral development of the communities of Latin America's poorest rural populations" and to show "the Church's love for and solidarity with those who are abandoned and need greater protection." He adds that the Foundation "is prepared to cooperate with all who, conscious of the suffering of the people of Latin America, want to contribute to their integral development...."

Cardinal Etchegaray, who will be the papal representative on the Foundation's administrative board, said that the Pontifical Council *Cor Unum* will be responsible for raising funds to be added to the $1 million seed money which came from small donations given to the Pope. The aim is to build up a cash base large enough so that the interest will fund specific social development projects. [CNS—April 1992] ■

Population Policy and Immigration Policy

We can never have a sane immigration policy until we have a sane population policy. The ideal mix of births and immigrants is a difficult question that must be solved by public debate. Our own view is that immigration adds important variety to our population and permits the United States to give refuge to people who really need it. So our preference would be to maintain a reasonable level of immigration and compensate for it with fewer births.

The immigration issue is extremely complex and ethically difficult, but it must be faced. Equally daunting, after a decision on levels of immigration has been made, will be monitoring the flow and enforcing the quotas. Badly needed now is a wide-ranging discussion, first, of population policy, and then of immigration within the context of that policy.

— Paul and Anne Ehrlich in
Elephants in the Volkswagen edited by Lindsey Grant

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Here is a report on a little-known aspect of immigration law: the 'minister of religion' clause [Section 101 (a) (27) (C)]. Jim Dorcy, formerly with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, is senior government relations associate at the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) in Washington, DC.

The 'Minister of Religion' Clause

A Little Known Section of Immigration Law

By Jim Dorcy

> *Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof...*

This country's immigration laws exempt ministers of religion and certain religious workers from numerical immigration limits. Does this unusual exemption encroach on the First Amendment prohibition against mixing state and religion? A careful look at the issue is worthwhile.

Prior to the 1990 Immigration Act, only validated "ministers of religion" received special consideration for any kind of immigration benefit. The definition of "minister of religion" was narrowly defined. In order to qualify, a person had to have been "ordained" in a formal rite of ordination, and his or her services had to be required or requested by the church body or organization for which the minister would work in the United States.

Under this narrow concept, church workers who were not ordained ministers did not qualify. Nuns, lay brothers (in the Catholic Church), Jewish cantors, lay missionaries, catechists, and other support-role church workers did not receive any special benefits. Church organizations were, however, free to petition for them as third or sixth preference labor-certified workers. The 1990 Immigration Act changed, at least temporarily, the classes of church workers covered, expanding consideration beyond "ministers of religion."

The 1990 law is the most comprehensive immigration bill since 1952. In the construction and debate of that legislation we find a clue to what the religious organizations have in mind for future immigration legislation. Lobbyists representing churches and church-related organizations swarmed over Capitol Hill and joined in a powerful coalition with business, labor, ethnic and other interests.

The churches persuaded Congressman Bruce Morrison (D-CT), then chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, to write into the draft of the House version a provision that would have exempted from limitation virtually any alien who was merely the member of a church or church organization. In this version there were two basic qualifications for the exemption: the alien had to be a member for at least one year of the church requesting immigration, and the church or church-affiliated organization had to inform the government that it desired the alien's presence in the U.S. to work for the church or organization. Although this language did not make it to the final version, it did foster a compromise which expanded the category of religious immigrants from just ministers of religion to include other church workers.

A new "R" category of nonimmigrant allows aliens to come temporarily to the U.S., for up to five years, (1) to carry on the vocation of minister of a religion, (2) to work in a *professional* capacity for a religious organization, or (3) to work in a *religious vocation* for a religious organization or an affiliate of a religious organization. The latter two categories are open only until October 1, 1994, and the organization must make a specific request for a qualifying alien's services. In order to qualify, an alien must have worked in the vocation, professional work or other work for at least two years immediately prior to applying. The requirements and limitations for permanent immigrant religious workers are identical to those applying to nonimmigrants. There are *no numerical limitations* on either nonimmigrant or immigrant religious workers.

In the original language of H.R. 4300, the religious worker category would have been broadened far beyond what it has been. No sunset was provided for the non-ministerial categories,

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either. A number of religious denominations, including Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Hindus, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses were actively lobbying for liberalization of what constitutes a religious worker and the terms of admission for such workers. In the lobbying efforts of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), we pointed out that liberalization as it had been proposed would open the door to massive abuse and allow just about anyone who claims to practice a religion to qualify. The final product was very much toned down from original proposals, while only temporarily allowing some expansion and liberalization. We will undoubtedly see a number of the religious denominations and organizations lobbying for extension of these provisions as October 1, 1994 approaches. We may also see some argument for liberalization at the same time. For this reason, most denominations are being rather circumspect in their importation of religious workers.

The Catholic Church was a key player in lobbying for expanding these categories. It will continue to lobby for extension and expansion in the future. According to some of my sources in the INS, there does not seem to be any kind of great rush to take too much advantage of the new law and its provisions by the mainstream religions and religious organizations, including the Catholics. Some concerns have been raised, however, over applications being made by the less orthodox organizations such as the Unification Church, which seems to be the only church trying to "expand the envelope" in the religious categories. It seems logical that the Catholic Church would try to replenish its clerical ranks here in the U.S. by importing replacements from abroad. For several years after Vatican II, the Catholic Church in the U.S. lost a disproportionate number of its religious workers and clergy because of celibacy-related departures. Now, however, much of the rest of the world has caught up to the U.S., and the excess of clerical personnel that once existed in places like Ireland and Italy are pretty much a thing of the past. Worldwide, the Roman Church is suffering from an aging, unreplenished religious and clergy. The likelihood of a mass exodus from other countries to fill a void here is very much diminished because the religious vocations shortage has become so wide spread.

During the debate over the 1990 legislation, it was apparent that the Catholic Church wanted to expand the religious immigration categories to cover lay teachers for its schools. Few teachers from either the Philippines or Latin America can meet the two-year requirement of the law, so the expansion of the categories was not broad enough to encompass the lay teachers. Catholic schools notoriously pay below the wage scales set by public schools, and they are in need of Spanish-speaking teachers to teach children of recent immigrants from Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries. Presumably, teachers from both sources would work for less than U.S.-educated teachers. Most educated Filipinos speak at least minimal English, and Latin American teachers obviously speak Spanish.

There are no celibacy requirements for lay teachers. They would be able to come here with families, many with very large families. Since, under the present rules, teachers would come under the numerical limits and labor certification requirements, only relatively few would be able to qualify. We can anticipate continuing pressure by church lobbyists to extend and broaden the religious worker categories beyond 1994 and to include lay teachers.

Another aspect of what was developing during the debates toward the 1990 Act was the prospect of broadening the religious categories and making mere church membership, and working in loosely-defined jobs, a qualification for entrance. Many churches, both Catholic and Protestant, could view such broadening as a possible 'sanctuary movement' avenue for legally bringing in 'oppressed' aliens by declaring them to be 'church workers.' This is an area that will be a continuing battle ground in the future.

Since there would be no limits nor labor certification requirements, we can anticipate great abuse of such a broadened category. Religious and quasi-religious organizations which now participate actively in alien smuggling would have little compunction to certify unqualified people as teachers which would allow them to immigrate legally in lieu of taking the risks involved in entering the U.S. illegally.

In some minds there is a serious question as to whether this whole program does not contravene the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment. ■

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The recent acceptance of a planeload of Cubans while Haitians are interdicted highlights the need for a re-examination of immigration policy relative to Cuba. Dan Stein is the executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) in Washington, DC.

BLANKET ACCEPTANCE OF CUBANS:
An Idea Three Decades Out of Date

By Dan Stein

In 1966, at the height of the Cold War, the United States instituted the Cuban Adjustment Act which, in effect, guaranteed any Cuban citizen who made it to these shores, the right to remain permanently. Like so many Cold War-era policies, a blanket assurance of refuge for all Cubans made little sense even when East-West tensions were at their most acute. In 1993, such a policy is simply irrational.

Blindly admitting any and all Cubans who reach the U.S. is unfair to people of other nationalities who would like to come here, is unwarranted from a human rights standpoint, and counterproductive to our long-term political objectives. For the most part, the Cubans arriving today are fleeing poverty, just as people from many other nations would like to do. And, while Cuban president Fidel Castro's human rights record is admittedly abysmal, there are all too many other governments that are as bad, or worse. If our objective is to improve these conditions, the answer is to remove the source of the problem — Fidel Castro — rather than relocate the Cuban population.

"The Cubans who are arriving in growing numbers are motivated by the same aspirations as the Mexicans, Haitians, Salvadorans and countless other illegal immigrants."

CUBA FALLS ON HARD TIMES

With the elimination of subsidies from the Soviet Union, Castor's Cuba has fallen on even harder economic times than have existed throughout his 33-year dictatorship. The Cubans who are arriving in growing numbers as tourists or on leaky boats are motivated by the same aspirations as the Mexicans, Haitians, Salvadorans and countless other illegal immigrants. They are looking to escape the grinding poverty of their homeland. This is a perfectly understandable human desire. But it is inherently unfair to welcome economic migrants from one country while deporting similar migrants from almost every other country.

For decades, we have had this childish need to prove that our political and economic system was superior to communism. We have naively believed that the sight of his citizens risking life and limb to escape his regime was an embarrassment to Castro. Meanwhile, Castro has been quietly ridding his island of political opponents and emptying his prisons of criminals.

In a world with 16 million officially-recognized refugees and countless millions more at the mercy of ruthless dictatorships, warring clans and hostile neighbors, it is hard to make a case that Cubans are more persecuted than other nationalities. The abuse of human rights by Castro cannot be minimized. But neither can human rights abuses in dozens of countries in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

SINGLE-MINDED OBSESSION

Yet we continue to grant blanket immigration benefits to Cubans (who, as individuals, may or may not be persecuted) while millions of others languish in refugee camps all around the world waiting for an opportunity at resettlement. The only difference is that this country has had a single-minded obsession with Castro for more than three decades, while persecuted people elsewhere had the misfortune to be born in countries with despotic rulers we dislike less. Almost from the day Fidel Castro swept out of the Sierra Madre Mountains to take control of Cuba, it has been the implicit (and often explicit) goal of the U.S. government to see him overthrown. Countless covert adventures later, Castro is still in power.

As we look at other countries that have

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overthrown communist or authoritarian governments in recent years, we find that in each case the revolution was sparked from within. With a domestic opposition in place, the forces of democracy were able to pick off, one by one, the rotting regimes of Eastern Europe and Latin America. But instead of an organized opposition in Havana, poised to overthrow the despot, Castro's opposition is comfortably ensconced 90 miles away in Miami. From there they are free to howl about what Fidel has done to their island, and do little else.

With a new mass exodus from Cuba a real possibility, as Castro seeks an outlet for the frustrations now building in Cuba, it is time for the United States to re-evaluate a policy that is, today, little more than a relic of the Cold War. The time has come to repeal the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 and end the special privileges afforded to one nationality over all others.

The great ideological contest is over, and we won. Even Fidel Castro understands that by now — it's time we did, too. ■

Population Policies in Islamic Nations

Islamic nations vary significantly in the governmental positions taken toward population growth. This variability is due in part to the ambivalence of Islam per se toward the topic of demographic change and population control, and in part to the fact that Islamic nations, like all nations of the world, are more likely to respond to demographic change on the basis of individual, community, and national self-interest than on the basis of ideology (whether it be religious or political). Joseph Chamie has noted that "due largely to Islam's structure and to its primary reliance on the Koran and Hadith, each country, religious leader, or scholar is able to render an interpretation..."

In 40 percent of the Islamic nations [we found that] governments expressed the belief that the current rate of population growth is too high. Another 50 percent of governments were satisfied with their present rate of population growth. Only 10 percent of the Islamic nations have governments that specifically say that the rate of population growth is too low. Not surprisingly then, Islamic nations also vary widely in whether and how family planning programs are promoted. ...

Overall, our demographic journey leads us to the conclusions that: (1) there is considerable diversity among Islamic nations; and (2) there are few demographic patterns in Islamic nations that appear to be a direct result of religious influence. ... In our view, the high fertility found in many Islamic nations is more likely a consequence of the recency of social and economic development...

— John R. Weeks, "The Demography of Islamic Nations"
Population Bulletin, December 1988, a publication of
the Population Reference Bureau, Inc.

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The situation in Germany regarding their liberal asylum law has become well known through the reporting of recent events there. Viktor Foerster, who practices law in Nurnberg, Germany and is a member of The Social Contract *Editorial Advisory Board, outlines a political agreement designed to deal with abuses.*

In Germany: Solutions to the Problems of the Abuse of the Right of Asylum and Limitations on Immigration

By Viktor Foerster

The political debate between the political factions represented in the German Parliament (Bundestag), with the exception of the Green Party, has resulted in a Framework Agreement which will enable the government to prepare immediate amendments to the German Constitution (Basic Law) and other laws (especially the Law of Aliens — "Ausländergesetz"). The principles of this Framework Agreement were put down in the following paper and provide a clear program to combat the abuse of the right to asylum and to limit immigration to Germany.

Results of the Negotiations on Asylum and Migration

1. The factions are in agreement that,
   - migration to Germany must be limited and controlled and
   - the abuse of the right to asylum must be stopped and the protection of *bona fide* politically persecuted persons must be ensured.
2. By doing so, a signal of reconciliation should be given to demonstrate that Germany is a liberal, tolerant country and should remain so.
3. As is with every other country, Germany must also be able to control and limit migration. Without such a possibility fears and insecurity will be strengthened and this will be damaging to the domestic peace.
4. However, we need a system to help combat the causes of migration and give the people the possibility of remaining in their country of origin
5. We want a common European political policy which combats the causes of migration and regulates asylum and migration.

The Factions Agree on the Following Arrangement:

I. **Re: Refugees from War and Civil War,** it is agreed that:

1. a legal status will be established for war and civil war refugees (analogous to the Geneva Convention).
2. the acceptance of refugees shall be dependent upon the existence of a state of war or civil war (and shall thus be limited in time) with the possibility of the formation of acceptance quotas.
3. the acceptance of refugees shall be subject to the condition subsequent (see No. 2), that if the above state of war no longer exists, then the refugees must return.
4. the regions of origin shall be determined by the Federal Minister of the Interior in agreement with the Ministers of the Interior for the states.
5. the allocation of accepted refugees from war and civil war to the states shall take place in accordance with the current valid procedures with calculation being taken for those refugees already accepted.
6. during the acceptance in accordance with No. 2 it is not possible to make an application for asylum. After that period an appropriate application will be treated as an application for asylum.

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7. on questions of the matter of financing (under Nos. 1-6) in terms of the allocation of funds between the Federal State and local governments, the Parties will attempt to reach an agreement in the course of consultations in these matters.

II. The Right of Asylum

The right to asylum shall be newly defined in Article Sixteen of the Basic Law (Constitution):

1. Politically persecuted individuals shall enjoy the right to asylum.

2. Those persons travelling to Germany from a member state of the European Community or from another third country in which the Geneva Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights apply shall not enjoy the right of asylum. The countries outside of the European Community which meet the requirements of sentence #1 above shall be determined by law which requires the approval of the Bundesrat (Upper Chamber of the German Parliament). In these cases, action can be taken to terminate the asylum-seeker's stay in Germany independently of any legal actions commenced by that person.

3. By law, which would require the approval of the Bundesrat, countries may be determined in which (on the basis of the legal situation, the application of law and the general political relationship) it appears that in these states no political persecution or inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment takes place.

   A foreigner from such a country shall be deemed not to be politically persecuted unless the said person can give reasons which lead to the suspicion of political persecution in terms of the provision of sentence #1 above.

4. Deportation from Germany shall, in cases in terms of paragraph #3, be set aside by the court only if there are serious doubts as to the legality of such procedures. The same shall apply to deportation from Germany in all cases where the application for asylum is clearly unfounded. In this regard, the extent of the examination can be limited and evidence presented to the Court at a later stage may be disregarded. Further details shall be determined by statute.

"There is agreement that the abuse of filing follow-on applications should be further restrained. In this regard, it should be examined whether the time limitation of the present Asylum Procedure Law should be extended from one to three years."

In addition to the basic agreement on the Amendment, the factions are in agreement as to the following:

1. It is agreed that the present day situation in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Switzerland is such that they can be deemed to be safe third countries.

   So that the individual countries, especially those of Eastern Europe, are not unproportionedly burdened by the determination of their status as safe countries with no political persecution, the Federal Republic of Germany advocates a sharing of the burden on a European basis. In anticipation of such a settlement, the Federal Republic of Germany will commence discussions with Poland and Czechoslovakia without delay.

   The basis for these discussions will be an offer by Germany concerning:

   - administrative and financial help to overcome the refugee problem
   - agreements to share the burden of accepting refugees in special situations
   - the determination of jurisdiction in terms of the Dublin Agreement.

   The states will be involved in these negotiations.

2. Apparent unfounded applications for asylum in terms of paragraph 4 sentence 2 shall exist especially in cases of serious crimes and when the duty to assist in procedural matters is not adhered to.

Follow-on Applications

There is agreement that the abuse of filing

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follow-on applications should be further restrained. In this regard, it should be examined whether the time limitation of the present Asylum Procedure Law should be extended from 1 to 3 years.

Existing Cases

1. Pending procedures will, in principle, be continued in terms of the *new law*. In this regard a suitable clarification is required.
2. Those measures that have already been adopted in existing cases should be expedited.
3. A right of stay for asylum seekers from countries with a high success rate for asylum recognition will be established in so far as such applications are more than two years old.

"Asylum proceedings will be decided upon by judges who are experienced predominantly in this area..."

Procedure of temporary legal remedies for cases of clearly unfounded application for asylum.

1.Procedural steps.

a.) The Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees shall send to the responsible administrative court, as a precaution, the decision and a copy of the file at the same time as the servicing on the applicant.

b.) The proceedings for the granting of temporary legal remedies shall be, as a general rule, non-oral proceedings and shall be separated from the main proceedings.

c.) Facts and evidence which have not been put forward by the applicant do not require to be considered and in this regard the principle of investigation by the court shall be limited.

d.) In its judgment, a court may cite the decision of the Federal Office without giving any further reasons.

e.) A temporary injunction may be issued before a single judge and does not require a full court (3 or 5 judges).

2. Organizational Measures

In order to carry out the acceleration of the asylum proceedings personal and organizational as well as logistical measures will be taken in the individual states.

Asylum proceedings will be decided upon by judges who are experienced predominantly in this area and for whom incentives could be provided.

The Central Reception Facilities and the courts responsible for asylum matters should be located next to each other. In accelerated proceedings related to clearly unfounded cases the questions of asylum, rights as a foreigner, and reasons for staying in Germany shall all be considered by the federal authorities in so far as the applicant has not left the Central Reception Facilities or the common quarters.

Law concerning the control of the minimum support for asylum seekers:

Minimum level of support during the time of the proceedings for asylum shall be determined independently by law with the aim that:

- a clear reduction is achieved in terms of the current level of support
- in terms of stays in the Central Reception Facilities or common quarters support shall be given in kind (i.e. no monetary payments)
- in terms of stays outside of the above facilities priority should be given to payments in kind.

Upon a positive decision being made in terms of administrative law or the right to stay, support should be increased to conform with the provisions of the Federal Social Security Law. This is the law which applies to residents of Germany (including German citizens) entitled to social security payments.

III. Questions of Naturalization and other Questions of Migration

Law of Nationality

1. In terms of the existing law the naturalization procedures for foreigners should be made easier.
2. As a result of the new organization of the Law of Nationality the right of German nationals to pass on their nationality to their children in situations of non-residence should be limited.

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Migration Rules

The factions are in agreement that the possibilities of establishing rules to limit and control migration at a national level should be checked and negotiations should be continued in this regard at the European level.

Report on Foreigners

The Federal Commissioner on Foreigners provides annually to the German Parliament a report on the situation of foreigners in Germany.

IV. German Ethnic Immigrants

The movements of German ethnic immigrants must be controlled. In this regard the following should be ensured:

1. The Federal Administrative Department shall in future grant acceptance to enter Germany based on the average numbers for the years 1991 and 1992. The Federal Administrative Department may vary up to 10% of the average.
2. A final date for applications will not be established.
3. Detailed regulations were agreed to).

V. Contract Workers

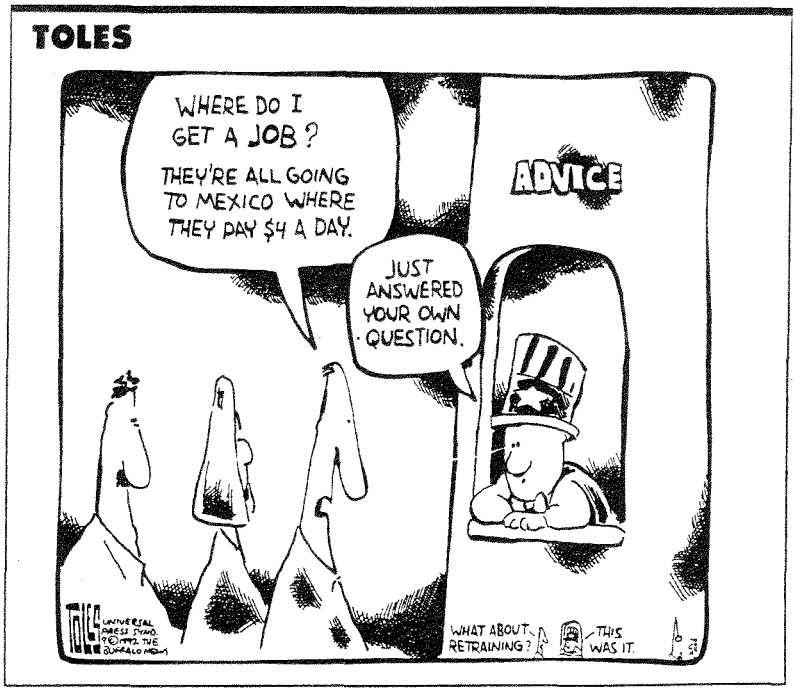
Employment of Contract Workers

The factions are in agreement that:

- by the regulation of current contracts (treaties) and agreement with other states the number of contract workers can be limited to 200,000 persons annually and the agreed to numbers should be strictly enforced.
- the combating of illegal employment through stricter enforcement must take place. The Federal Authority for Employment may, without any reason, check in places of employment to determine whether or not persons are being employed without the appropriate permission.

Contract Workers

The heads of government at the federal and state level are asked to consider the position of contract workers of the former German Democratic Republic and to attempt to obtain a human solution in terms of the intended period of stay and the actual level of integration of these persons. ■


TOLES
WHERE DO I GET A JOB?
THEY'RE ALL GOING TO MEXICO WHERE THEY PAY $4 A DAY.
ADVICE
JUST ANSWERED YOUR OWN QUESTION.
WHAT ABOUT RETRAINING?
THIS WAS IT.

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Our Canadian correspondent, John Meyer, called our attention to this article that appeared in The Toronto Star, *September 20, 1992. It is a complete departure from previously published views in the mainstream Canadian press, which has been nearly universal in its unquestioning support for open-ended immigration. The essay is reprinted by permission of the Atkinson Fellowship in Public Policy. The Fellowship is named for Joseph Atkinson, former publisher of* The Toronto Star. *Mr. Stoffman used his grant as fourth winner of the fellowship to study Canada's immigration system.*

Pounding at the Gates:

Why Canada Must Reassess Its Wide-Open Immigration Policy

By Daniel Stoffman

The world is on the move.

By some estimates, as many as 100 million people from poor countries want to make new homes in the exclusive club of rich countries, a club that includes Canada. But the rich countries can't employ or accommodate more than a small fraction of them. Heartless as it may seem, the rich countries don't need these people and aren't going to let them in.

Yet through the 1990s and beyond, an ever-growing tide of people from the poor nations will be pounding on the gates of the rich. Four babies are born every second. In less than two decades, the Third World's labor force will contain 700 million more people than it does today, an increase equal to the existing labor force of all the world's industrialized countries.

Because of television and movies, people who live in the teeming cities of the Third World know that a better life awaits them in the rich countries if they can only get through those gates. You can't blame them for trying. All they want is what the immigrant ancestors of today's Canadians wanted — a better life for their children. They want it so badly that if one rich country refuses them entry, they will try another. One place many will be sure to try is Canada.

Canadian immigration policy used to be about seeking immigrants to populate a new country that was in the process of nation-building. It's not about that any more, although many people still think of it in these archaic terms. Immigration policy today is about finding a way to cope with the swelling tide of humanity that wants in. It is in Canada's best interest to select only a few of the millions of people who would like to come here — the ones most likely to become productive members of Canadian society.

That is why Parliament is debating measures aimed at giving the government more control over who gets in. And that is why policy-makers in Canada and other rich countries are belatedly waking up to the need to plan Third World development aid with the aim of curbing migration by creating jobs in those countries. It is clear that we must buy the goods and services that the poor countries are offering or they will send us their excess populations. This new global setting provides an entirely new context for Canadian immigration policy. A national debate is long overdue.

"Both those who favor Canada's policy of massive, unselective immigration and those who are against non-white immigration and multi-culturalism rely on a variety of myths to bolster their arguments."

Yet, until recently, there has been little debate over immigration policy in Canada. This is surprising because the current five-year plan calling for immigration of 1.2 million people represents the world's largest wave of newcomers since the turn of the century, except for the special case of Israel. (The foreigners seeking admission to Germany are not immigrants but asylum-seekers, most of whom are expected to leave. But even if it gets 500,000 newcomers this year, Germany's intake will still be

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much lower than Canada's on a per capita basis.) No other country in the world receives immigrants on a scale even close to ours.

It's hard to have a dispassionate and serious discussion on this vital issue. That's because, more than any other area of public policy, immigration is encrusted with empty rhetoric, emotionalism, exaggerated claims and quaint, romantic notions that simply don't make any sense.

Both those who favor Canada's policy of massive, unselective immigration and those who are against non-white immigration and multiculturalism rely on a variety of myths to bolster their arguments.

Some of these ideas hark back to Canada's pioneer days. They are worthless as a basis for a modernized immigration policy suitable to the rapidly approaching 21st century. Before we can even start to talk about immigration policy in the '90s, we need to reassess these outdated ideas.

Here are a few of them:

Canada can absorb many immigrants because it is so big. This is the most widespread, and the most foolish, of all immigration myths. It has been more than 70 years since immigrants came to settle empty land in Canada. Today, all immigrants go to big cities because that is where the jobs are and where other people of similar backgrounds live.

Immigration brings in skilled people we need but don't produce ourselves. Just when industry is desperate for highly skilled workers (and offers fewer opportunities than ever for the unskilled), we find ourselves with an immigration system that in, effect, gives priority to uneducated people. Immigrants, as of the 1986 census, were three times as likely to be functionally illiterate (i.e., have less than Grade 5 education) as native-born Canadians. Yet in 1971, immigrants were three times as likely as those born in Canada to have a higher education.

Immigration is essential to the economy. There is no evidence that this is true. In fact, there is a consensus among economists who have studied immigration that it does nothing to raise the incomes of those already here. The world's three major immigrant-receiving countries — Canada, the United States and Australia — do not outperform other industrialized countries that traditionally have had little or no immigration.

Immigrants cause unemployment and are a drain on social services. Wrong. In the past, immigrants have contributed more to the public coffers in taxes than they have taken out. Studies have shown time and again that, while immigration may depress wages and cause unemployment in certain industries, it has no permanent impact on the over-all unemployment rate.

Canada's refugee determination system is the most generous in the world. True. But, by international standards, it is not really a refugee determination system. It is a parallel immigration program in which self-selected immigrants are given landed status as "refugees" although most would not be so defined anywhere else in the world.

"Our cities are undergoing unprecedented stress — homelessness, foodbanks, violent crime, traffic congestion, air pollution, overflowing landfill sites."

Canada is under-populated. The issue is not whether Canada is under-populated but whether Metro Toronto and other large cities are under-populated because that is where immigrants settle. Our cities are undergoing unprecedented stress — homelessness, food banks, violent crime, traffic congestion, air pollution, overflowing landfill sites. Is more population the answer to these problems? Few urban residents think so, yet the Progressive Conservative government relentlessly pursues a policy of high immigration that makes rapid urban growth inevitable.

Immigrants form ethnic ghettos and refuse to adopt Canadian cultural values. This is a crude overstatement. Governor-General Ray Hnatyshyn's ancestors probably had less in common culturally with the native-born Canadians they encountered on arriving from Ukraine than do today's new arrivals. New immigrants have always been "different"; succeeding generations have always integrated and it's still happening. A survey of British Columbia high school students in 1986 by Charles Ungerleider of the University of B.C. showed that immigrants and their children knew as much about Canadian values as defined in the Charter of Rights as Canadian-born students and were equally loyal to those values.

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Canada requires immigrants to pass a points test to show they have useful skills. Rarely. In fact, fewer than 15 percent need to prove any kind of worthiness, compared with 32 percent 20 years ago. By encouraging family reunification beyond the immediate family, even before immigrants have obtained citizenship, Ottawa has created a stream of self-selected immigrants who don't need to speak one of our languages or have any education or skills to enter Canada by right.

Immigration is diluting the Canadian national identity. If Canadians have only a frail sense of national identity, that is not the fault of immigrants. Most new Canadians are ready and willing to accept the Canadian identity as their own. But first we have to articulate clearly, both for their sake and our own, what that identity is.

Because of our low fertility rate, Canada's population is shrinking and we need more immigrants to fill jobs. Wrong. Because we have so many women of child-bearing age, our population would be growing even without immigration. Canada, according to the most recent Statistics Canada demographic report, has "the strongest rate of population growth in the industrialized world." Our fertility rate of 1.8 children per woman is among the highest in the Western world. (By comparison, Italy and Spain have the lowest fertility in the world at 1.3 children per woman.) Meanwhile, Canada's unemployment rate is stuck at a lofty 11 percent, a figure that does not include people who have dropped out of the labor force.

If we don't have a lot of immigration, our population will go down eventually because Canadians aren't producing enough babies to replace the existing population of 27 million. This is true, but what does it really mean? It means that because a couple now in their 20s decide to have only one child, the Canadian population will eventually decline by one. But that decline won't likely happen for at least another 50 years when the mother and father die. In an over-populated world, there are far more pressing things to worry about than that. Anyway, no one can prove that a Canada of 20 million people in the middle of the next century would be worse off than a Canada of 30 million, 40 million or 50 million. The environment would benefit from a smaller population and, because we would be forced to invest more in training and technology, our economy would become more competitive.

Without high immigration there wouldn't be enough young people to pay for the social programs to support all the old people we are going to have as society ages. This is most unlikely. European countries already have the high percentage of older people that we will have in the next century and they are doing fine. "Even with ordinary increases in productivity the whole question of supporting an aging population just disappears," says Mike Murphy, who headed the federal government's review of Canada's demographic future.

"The fatalistic notion that countries can't prevent mass influxes of unwanted people is unsupported by any evidence."

A tidal wave of people is on the move and you can't stop a tidal wave. Yes, you can, if you decide you really want to. Italy sent back boatloads of Albanians and the Albanians stopped coming. When the West said it would no longer accept Vietnamese refugees and proved it by forcibly repatriating them from camps in Hong Kong, the boat people stopped coming. The fatalistic notion that countries can't prevent mass influxes of unwanted migrants is unsupported by any evidence.

Once we've dispensed with the mythology, what are we left with? Well, we're left with 250,000 people a year leaving crowded cities in other countries to come to crowded cities in Canada. We know why they want to come: most will enjoy a better standard of living and a lot of them have relatives here.

Furthermore, in Canada they can live in peace, get enough to eat, and vote in free elections, which is a better deal than most countries are offering these days.

But immigration is supposed to be a balance between the needs of the people who want to come and those of the people who already live here. So what's in it for us? Why do we want to cram so many new people, half of whom can't speak either official language, into our largest cities every year?

That is a difficult and complex question. I know, because I have been asking it for the past

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year. It was a year devoted to investigating immigration policy — conducting scores of interviews in Canada and the U.S. as well as Mexico City, Brussels and Geneva, and examining countless reports and studies.

Defenders of the existing policy argue that rapid population growth is essential for economic growth. By this analysis, the citizens of China and India should be the richest people on Earth while those who live in small countries with stable populations — Switzerland and the Netherlands, for example — should have starved to death long ago. The truth is that immigration helps some Canadians economically, hurts others, and makes little difference to the vast majority. It's time for a more realistic assessment of what immigration can do, both for Canada and for the people who want to settle here.

Immigration is a way of:

- Providing a haven for genuine refugees.
- Getting some capital and useful skills, while keeping in mind that these benefits, though helpful, have no great economic impact.
- Reuniting immediate families, that is, spouses and dependent children.
- Preventing too steep a drop in population.

Finally, there is an intangible but vitally important reason why Canada receives immigrants: because it is a nation of immigrants. Canada was built by immigrants and all of us, except for aboriginals, are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Recharging our batteries with a flow of new arrivals is an essential — perhaps the essential — element of our national character.

In this, says Doris Meissner, an expert on immigration at the Carnegie Foundation in Washington, Canadians, Australians and Americans differ fundamentally from Europeans for whom "membership in society is tied to ethnicity and nationality." In the immigrant-receiving countries, ethnic diversity is seen as a good thing and membership in society is based not on ethnicity but on a shared commitment to democratic values.

We should stop looking at immigration as an economic panacea; it isn't. Nor should we view immigration as a demographic necessity; there will be no demographic disaster if we have much less of it. Instead, we should celebrate immigration as a reaffirmation of who we are — a nation of immigrants. But we should be clear about how immigration is changing the country: who we are, and who we are becoming, is different from who we were.

"In both Canada and the U.S., politicians actually thought they could have a non-racist immigration policy without changing the ethnic makeup of their respective countries."

Until the 1960s, immigration policy in Canada, the U.S. and Australia systematically excluded visible minorities. Then all three immigrant-receiving countries, with Canada leading the way, traded in their racist policies for egalitarian ones. The implications of that decision were not debated then and, in Canada, they still haven't been.

The implications are these: the vast majority of the immigrants to Canada now are non-white. This fact, coupled with a low birth rate and the concentration of immigrants in the largest cities, means that non-whites will eventually become the majority in these cities. When the politicians quietly changed the policy a quarter of a century ago, nobody thought this would happen.

In both Canada and the U.S., politicians actually thought they could have a non-racist immigration policy without changing the ethnic makeup of their respective countries. Most immigration to North America had always been from Europe and that was the way it would always be, or so they thought. In the Third World, said Nicholas Katzenbach, who was U.S. attorney-general at the time, "there are not many people who want to come."

The thinking in Ottawa was the same, recalls Orest Kruhlak, a political scientist with a special interest in immigration and head of Ottawa's multiculturalism program in Vancouver. "The bureaucrats and politicians thought that immigrants would still come from Europe," he says.

Kruhlak, who is of Ukrainian background, thinks few Canadians are racist but he thinks many are like his mother-in-law. Like her, they observe our society changing because of non-European immigration and they feel "a sense of uncomfortableness, a sense of unease. My mother-in-law is 80-

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years-old, was born and raised in Alberta, and is of British and Swedish origin. She used to know the signposts of life. She didn't have to have an explanation. Now the symbols are changing and she isn't as comfortable. In her terms, we've changed the rules of the game. She says, 'nobody asked me.'"

When the rules were changed, only 3 percent of Toronto's population was made up of visible minorities. Today, they are 25 percent and by 2001, they will be 45 percent. Meanwhile, an Angus Reid poll last June found that 55 percent of Canadians think racism is a serious and escalating problem and 71 percent of Torontonians expect more rioting like last spring's rampage on Yonge St. following the police shooting of a black man.

Even members of minority groups are less comfortable in Canada than they were before Brian Mulroney's government decided we needed a huge influx of newcomers. A poll by Goldfarb Consultants this year found that only 47 percent of minority group members were "very satisfied" with life in Canada compared with 73 percent in 1985. As well, 26 percent felt prejudice against them was increasing compared with 17 percent in 1985.

Immigration Levels

Country and Population	Number of Immigrants	Percent of Population
Canada 27.3 million	250,000	.92%
United States 252.2 million	1 million*	.40%
Australia 17.3 million	80,000	.46%

(* 750,000 legal and estimated 200,000 illegal)

SOURCES: Immigration Canada, U.S. Department of Labor, Embassy of Australia

Change is always stressful, especially rapid change. Canadians will have to accept that, in an increasingly multicultural world, the ethnic composition of Canada will change. But, not unreasonably, they prefer gradual to rapid change. That is why opinion polls consistently show strong support for lower immigration levels.

Canada's three major parties have decided that this majority view should not be permitted to have political expression. Immigration policy in Canada is conducted as if it were none of the public's business. Instead, it is the preserve of advocacy groups, ethnic communities, politicians representing those communities, and lawyers whose livelihood depends on having a large supply of immigrants to represent.

These people form a sort of immigration establishment and they resent the idea that immigration policy should reflect the national interest. Instead, they insist that it conform to the wishes of prospective immigrants and their Canadian relatives. And because most new immigrants are non-white, advocates of lower, more selective immigration risk being accused of racism.

It is the same in Sweden, says Jonas Eidgren, a former Swedish secretary of state for immigration. He now heads the Informal Consultations, a Geneva-based organization that provides a forum for the 16 developed countries that are the most frequent destinations of asylum-seekers. "In Sweden you have to hate racism," he says. "So you can't even discuss immigration because that is being racist." This situation allows the terms of the debate to be set by the far right, which is unafraid of being called racist, and creates a political vacuum on a crucial public policy issue.

We should not smugly assume that Canada is immune to the sort of anti-immigrant backlash now under way in Europe. It could happen here if the pace of immigration continues to outstrip the country's ability to absorb newcomers. The government's proposed changes are a welcome beginning at restoring an element of national interest to immigration policy. But they are only a first step.

The government still hasn't got around to explaining why Canada needs the biggest per capita immigration intake in the world. And, intellectually, it hasn't caught up to our Commonwealth cousins in Australia, who have accepted the fact that immigration's impact on the economy is neutral. Our policy is still based on exaggerated claims of its ability to boost prosperity.

We might be better off if we scaled down both the size of the immigration program and our expectations of what it can do for us. Most of all, we need to discard the mythology, drop the name-calling, and have a real debate on how to shape immigration policy for the 21st century. ■

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John Meyer is executive director of ZPG-Canada (Zero Population Growth) and reports from Toronto for The Social Contract.

The Canadian Condition? Uncertain!

Reportage by John Meyer

Canada's status is one of severe economic doldrums combined with political disfunction. Our unemployment rate is close to 12 percent and our debt levels are considerably higher than those of the United States. Attempts to arrive at new power-sharing agreements between the federal government and the provinces via the Charlottetown Constitutional Accord have been repeatedly rejected by the voters.

In the midst of all this, immigration is still being pushed to 250,000 per year — a proportional rate more than double that of Australia and triple the legal rate in the U.S.

The Accord was designed and agreed to by most of the power groups in the country including the federal and all provincial governments. A new constitution flowing from it would have diluted federal powers still further and would have granted some groups of citizens a greater set of rights than others. The Accord itself was a canvas of broad brushstrokes with very little in the way of technical structure. The technicalities were just beginning to be worked on by lawyers and bureaucrats as Canadians were going to the polls.

Fortunately, the Accord was rejected, not only by the majority of Quebecers but by the majority of Canadians as well (which must have proven extremely frustrating to the separatist movement). The rejection was a slap in the face for the "elites" of the country since most of them had endorsed the package. It has left a great many issues up in the air, but in the mind of the majority that is apparently better than resolving them in the manner proposed.

I spoke with the federal negotiator on immigration several days before the referendum and received the impression that there was no sense whatever of what the practical implications were going to be. If the provinces had gotten greater control over immigration, it would have made any kind of population policy impossible. Worse, lobby groups could focus on one province and, in effect, create an open-door immigration policy for the entire country since: once admitted to one province immigrants cannot be restricted to live in a particular area. (The European Community faces a similar scenario.)

In terms of implementing an integrated policy for immigration, population, and the environment, the accord would have required unanimous consent from all 11 governments. Unwieldy — to say the least.

Whatever strategic and operational problems exist for immigration would also exist for any issue of concern to the nation state as a whole. Economic policy, health, environment, etc. — the current state of government in Canada might well be chaotic but ratification of the Accord would have made the country definitely impossible to lead and govern.

The Good News

We may be politically handcuffed but there is increasing improvement in terms of population/environment consciousness. Very *useful studies* have come out of Australia and Switzerland. The Swiss study is a semi-technical analysis of resource flows and environmental assets in an advanced, resource-importing country. The Australian study is much broader and represents the sort of *fundamental examination* of the issues of population, immigration, international responsibility, and resources that has been avoided in Canada. This is not a technical study but by merely addressing *all of the basic issues*, the 'growth ethic' is left quite naked. Following this study, and in the middle of a severe recession, Australia cut its immigration by over 50 percent. This represents a *major change* for what was once a frontier nation.

Both of these studies are extremely useful for embarrassing the Canadian government about its denial of the existence of links among population growth, the environment, and immigration. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) in Washington has produced an excellent study: "Crowding Out the Future." Although extremely

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useful, and sophisticated in many ways (including spectacular graphics) it would be far better for our purposes if it had been published by the U.S. government.

The *Toronto Star* published a landmark series of articles by Daniel Stoffman on immigration [See page 134 of this journal]. These articles challenged many of the 'growth ethic' assumptions. If the *Star* is finally willing to publish critical analysis and a demand for the best information, then we are indeed living in a changing world. A cynic might note that Stoffman does not work for the *Star*, but they were obliged to publish his work because he won the Atkinson [founder of the *Star*] Fellowship in Public Policy.

"We are starting to see more environmental activists climb aboard the population issue. ...The trend is starting in distinct fashion."

There have been an increasing number of articles along the lines of "where are we headed?" in diverse publications. This whole issue may be starting to open up the way it has in Australia, and to a lesser degree in the U.S.

We are starting to see more environmental activists climb aboard the population issue. There have been no major organizations making policy statements, but the trend is starting in distinct fashion. Several groups in British Columbia have shown strong interest in population growth and have started to circulate material from Zero Population Growth. Population issues in Canada are clearly on the minds of many of our leading environmentalists and it is only a matter of time before the "P" and the "I" words emerge as mainstream topics.

Preparations are beginning in Canada for the 1994 U.N. Population Conference in Cairo. A number of government agencies as well as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) will be presenting Canada's position on various population issues. Unlike the U.N. Conference on Economic Development in Rio de Janeiro, where population was largely left off the agenda, it will be front and center in Cairo.

How it will be dealt with is another matter but the initial signs are very hopeful. NGOs will have a greater voice in the government's policy statements than was the case in Brazil. Population in the Canadian context is becoming more and more of a regular topic within environmental groups. They may not be taking positions on reducing immigration, but they are becoming increasingly aware of the impact of greater numbers of people on the environment.

To gauge public attitudes and to find out if there was any support for the government's immigration policy outside of the media and special interest groups, ZPG-Canada commissioned a national poll on the ideal population size, environmental impact, and immigration. Some of the questions and results, with comments, are as follows:

- Canada's population is currently 27 million. What do you think the ideal population of Canada should be?

Less than 27 million	12.8%
About the same	34%
Between 27 and 35 million	29%
More than 35 million	18.3%
No opinion	5.8%

Comment: Support for the government's position is only 18.3% since its immigration policy will take us to over 39 million by 2030.

- Do you agree or disagree with the idea that growth in the Canadian population has lead, at least in part, to decline in the environment?

Agree	51.8%
Disagree	43.4%
Don't know	4.9%

Comment: In effect this means that 25 percent of the people surveyed associate population growth with environmental decline in Canada. We would have been encouraged by 10 percent!

- Do you agree or disagree that immigration should be used as a way to increase Canada's population?

Agree	45.5%
Disagree	48.2%
Don't know	6%

Comment: We decided to make a French/English breakdown for the answers to this question since Quebecers see an erosion of their power-base due to high levels of immigration

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into the remainder of Canada.

Francophones who agree	51.8%
Anglophones who agree	40.1%
Francophones who disagree	39.6%
Anglophones who disagree	54.8%

Comment: It has been the policy of the Quebec government to work for a higher share of immigration. The fear of being "out-immigranted" is reflected in these responses since a higher percentage (52.8% vs 46%) of French speaking respondents want to see the Canadian population remain the same or decline.

- The current level of immigration into Canada, which is 250,000 persons per year, may increase Canada's population by about 10 million people in some 40 years. Do you think that this level of immigration is:

Too high	32.4%
Somewhat high	23.5%
Just right	28.9%
Somewhat low	6.4%
Too low	2.7%
Don't know	5.9%

Comment: Once again the polling of the general population shows them to be against mass immigration.

The Bad News: ZPG Input Refused at Immigration Bill C-86 Hearings

The parliamentary committee heard 72 oral presentations but refused ours. Only one group advocated lower levels — we think — and *no one addressed environmental impact*. Public interest and public opinion were not represented. The covering letter of our report asked how the committee avoided the legal requirement for an environmental impact study. There has been no reply as yet. Mr. Valcourt, the Employment and Immigration Minister, seems to think privately that levels should increase to 700,000 per year! Despite this, there is a sense that the government is desperately trying to find a way to cut levels (recalling: 12 percent unemployment and enormous budget deficits at all levels of government) without being ripped apart by the media. The format might be to increase the refugee flow while decreasing the overall levels.

The media is beginning to equate opposition to immigration with right wing extremism, citing the attacks in Germany and the activities of anti-immigration activists in the American Southwest. On the other hand, the Canadian Broadcast Corporation is trying to put together a program on the effects of political correctness on the racism debate. Not too many people will line up to be on the show since the only experts on racism charges are those making them. I expressed a willingness to be a participant if the scope of the discussion was widened to include the effects of racism charges when they are used as a way to preclude any debate or dissemination of information on a broad range of topics — such as population growth, immigration and the effects of too many people on the environment and the economy. The CBC did not widen the perspective and the program may or not proceed.

"Population and immigrant numbers are beginning to be discussed and I think more people are willing to listen..."

Angus Reid, a highly regarded polling organization in Canada, and part of the large Southern media chain, refused to run ZPG's population and immigration questions. The questions were established and the fees agreed to when the management pulled the plug the day before the questions were supposed to go into the field. Basically, they did not want to get involved with a poll linking the sacred cow of immigration to decline of the environment, nor with a group which would publish the results showing very little public support for current policy.

Many people in Canada are aware that something is fundamentally wrong and they look for answers. Population and immigrant numbers are beginning to be discussed and I think people are more willing to listen to discussion of the subject more than at any time since the early 70s. They may not support positions of caution, but they are starting to ask questions.

Generally, Canadians expect our economic hard times to remain for the foreseeable future — which means that interest in issues of population and immigration can only grow. Change will not be rapid, but it may be possible to follow Australia's example within three years. ■

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Associate editor Wayne Lutton draws our attention to a study by the General Accounting Office suggesting that aliens are filling professional positions that American citizens could hold.

Aliens *Are* Working in the Professions

Reportage by Wayne Lutton

Thanks to curious loopholes in our immigration laws, foreign nationals are legally able to hold professional positions in the United States, which has the effect of displacing American citizens. At a time when white collar workers are joining the legions of the unemployed, thousands of aliens are taking jobs in health care, engineering, the sciences, and education.

Employers often prefer to hire noncitizens because they will frequently work for less than what the prevailing American pay scale is in various professions. Aliens can legally work here if their employer petitions the Department of Labor and certifies that they are "persons of distinguished merit and ability" temporarily employed to perform services of "an exceptional nature."

In practice, the Labor Department rarely checks to confirm whether or not the company is making a valid request. Once the paperwork has been processed, the alien employee receives an H-1 or L-1 visa, entitling the individual to work at a particular position for as long as five years. H-1 visas go to aliens of "distinguished merit and ability", while L-1 visas are for nonimmigrants employed by an international firm to work in its U.S. offices.

Standards of what constitutes "outstanding merit" and relevant "experience" have largely been left for employers to decide. Most often, the people hired over American citizens are average people with very average levels of education, ability, and work habits, willing to accept lower salaries, as well as different insurance and pension benefits than their American counterparts.

At the request of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the United States General Accounting Office analyzed the employment patterns of thousands of temporary, nonimmigrant alien workers between 1984 and 1989. The GAO also surveyed 1,825 companies located in the northern United States that had petitioned the INS for H-1 or L-1 visas between October 1988 and March 1990. Additional national-level data on nonimmigrant and immigrant workers was studied.

During FY 1989, 7 percent of the nonimmigrant visas authorized aliens to work here — 478,000 individuals. The GAO study confirms what many critics have charged, namely, that thousands of permanent jobs in the U.S. are being filled by a succession of skilled temporary alien workers in such fields as engineering and science. In health care, 85 percent of temporary alien workers, mostly nurses, occupy positions intended to be permanent.

Appendix IV of this report includes a remarkable letter from the Department of Justice. The Assistant Attorney General for Administration admits that under provisions of the revised 1990 Immigration Act,

> *the law requires only that H-1 and L-1 nonimmigrants, brought into the U.S. to fill jobs, be admitted for temporary time periods. It does not prohibit the hiring of such persons to permanent positions, nor does it prohibit the employment of successive H-1 or L-1 nonimmigrant aliens to the same permanent positions. In fact, the law was specifically amended to permit H-1 nonimmigrants to fill permanent positions.*

The findings of the GAO raise further doubts that the U.S. economy requires the services of growing numbers of immigrants. The vast majority of the current immigrant supply should be able to be substituted in the workplace with native-born labor. Our first concern as a nation should be to help provide employment opportunities for American citizens. ■

[See, U.S. General Accounting Office, *Immigration and the Labor Market: Nonimmigrant Alien Workers in the United States.* GAO/PEMD-92-17, April 28, 1992, 96 pp. One free copy of this GAO report may be ordered from: U.S. General Accounting Office, P. O. Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20877, or by calling (202) 275-6241.]

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Arthur F. Corwin, Ph.D., a Latin Americanist and immigration researcher, served as a consultant to the House Judiciary Committee during the 1981-82 term. He edited the book Immigrants — and Immigrants: Perspectives in Mexican Labor Migration to the United States.

The 'Fourth Wave' of Mass Immigration

A Book Review by Arthur F. Corwin

MASS IMMIGRATION
AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST
by Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.
M. E. Sharpe, Inc. (1992)
275 pages
Hard cover, $49.95, Paperback, $19.95

Vernon M. Briggs is a labor economist at Cornell University and author of many publications about American labor markets and immigration. He served as chairman of the National Council of Employment, 1985-1987. His message in this book is that America has the wrong immigration policies for an economy long immersed in a post-industrial transformation and for a society already swamped with immigrant-fed minority problems. Variations of this message are found in other publications of the author but never has the thesis been so clearly stated, so timely, and so firmly supported by in-depth historical analysis and labor market studies. In short, the book is all about how the "fourth wave" of mass immigration came into being, how it affects the national economy and society, what maintains its growing momentum, and what should be done.

One starting point is the family-reunification act of 1965. As an "unintended consequence" — and the book speaks of many such — the front gates were thrown wide open to family-connected migration from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean in a seemingly endless chain. At the same time, the Federal government failed to enforce immigration control on the Mexican border and at international airports. Thus the "fourth wave."

To provide historical perspective, three earlier waves of mass migration, from 1830-1930, were identified. The "third wave" was especially huge. From 1881 to the national origins quote act of 1924, close to 27 million immigrants were admitted. In a pre-welfare era, possibly 30 percent returned, especially unattached migrants, or "birds of passage." The "third wave" was, for the most part, "cheap labor" from eastern and southern Europe recruited for labor-intensive industries and services.

The restrictionist acts of the 1920s did not apply to the Western Hemisphere under a policy of Pan American favoritism. Nevertheless, the quota acts of the 1920s did radically reduce, as intended, mass labor migration from non-Nordic Europe. One consequence was that the nation, for the first time, had to turn inward and make greater use of hitherto neglected labor reserves, such as poor whites and blacks in rural America.

As Professor Briggs shows, labor shortages, including that during World War II, benefitted the cause of labor standards and opened opportunities to marginal groups.

From 1946 to 1968, regular immigration remained at modest levels and U.S. labor, all in all, gained. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter Act) maintained the national origins system, but gave token quotas to Asian countries. The quota ceiling for the Eastern Hemisphere was around 164,000 per annum. Again, immediate relatives were quota free. Notably, the 1952 Act introduced a new first preference: up to 50 percent of Eastern Hemisphere visas were available to persons with needed knowledge and skills within the system of quota favoritism. As the author comments, in principle, at least, this Act "gave official recognition to the idea that immigration policy could be used as a human resource instrument" (p. 101).

Importantly, outside the quota system, nearly one million displacees and refugees were admitted from Europe in the period from 1946-1962. But as

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work ethic. So their adjustment to the U.S. labor market and to mainstream society was relatively easy. In all, the limited and relatively select immigration of that period was beneficial because America was entering an era of post-industrialism that valued quality of labor and the mobile nuclear family rather than quantity and extended-family obligations.

The 1965 amendments abolished quota favoritism for the culturally similar countries of western Europe and opened America to the world on an equal basis — or so it was believed. The amendments, effective in 1968, established a ceiling of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere and per-country ceilings of 20,000 excepting immediate relatives. Revised preferences exempted 80 percent of ceiling immigrants from labor certification, including a 6 percent preference for refugees. Astonishingly, there was a 24 percent preference for brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. Mexico and other New World nations were exempt from ceiling and preference policies until 1976.

Most importantly, the 1965 Act established this salient fact: *family-unity preferences became entrenched as the supreme priority of national immigration policy.*

As the author demonstrates, the 1965 reformers, obsessed with abolishing quota discrimination or racism, inadvertently revived mass immigration — the "fourth wave" from the kinfolk cultures of the overpopulated Third World. Also, after the "equalization" act, undocumented migration was mostly ignored. So Third World peoples poured into segmented labor markets and into agribusiness and inner-city poverty zones after 1968. Irony of ironies, the new folks were themselves mostly "disadvantaged minorities" (p. 105).

To be sure, there were other "fourth wave" factors. The book contains an excellent summary of permissive legislation and contradictory ad hoc administrative and parole decisions, as well as court interventions in the years from 1965-1990, that have fed mass migration and rising Third World ethnic claims on Mother America. Among many topics given special attention are: the privileged parole treatment for Cuban and Southeast Asian refugees; the Refugee Act of 1980 which promised order, equity and congressional control for refugee admissions, yet established a more generous definition of deserving refugees; and the beginnings of a poorly defined asylee policy.

The author emphasizes how asylee policy — now involving court challenges, endless grants of extended-voluntary departure, work permits, and disappearing claimants — has become a separate admission track. In fact, asylee migration has "taken on a life of its own" (p. 143).

"...the same Act [IRCA, 1986] legalized the presence of hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers in the U.S. economy, and invited more by failing to authorize a counterfeit-proof I.D. system."

All of the foregoing suggests that U.S. immigration policy is now many tracked and increasingly shaped by foreign policy, domestic politics, ethnic groups, doctrinaire liberals, religious ministries, court decisions, and the magic wand of the presidential parole power — but not by labor market considerations.

Due consideration is given to the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (1979-1981) and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). To protect labor markets, sanctions were authorized on employers of illegal aliens. Yet the same act legalized the presence of hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers in the U.S. economy and invited more by failing to authorize a counterfeit-proof I.D. system. In the Briggs judgments, IRCA so far has been a "dismal" failure in terms of enforcement (pp. 162-163).

The omnibus Immigration Act of November 29, 1990 is carefully appraised. Although hailed as a great landmark in immigration history, it is doubtful, says the author, that any member of congress has read the whole thing: 277 rococo pages. No significant cutbacks were made in emotionally charged family unity migration. Instead, the global ceiling, set in 1980 at 270,000, plus immediate relatives and refugees, was raised by 35 percent for persons having needed skills or lacking family connections, and for a medley of smaller "deserving" groups, such as Tibetans, Hong Kong Chinese, and undocumented Irish bartenders. To accommodate all,

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the global ceiling was raised to 750,000 for the years 1992-1994, and 675,000 thereafter, not including refugees. All this in the very teeth of a deepening recession.

The Act set up separate admission tracks for immediate relatives, family-connected preferences, employment-based immigrants, investors, and "diversity" immigrants from countries slighted by the kinfolk priorities of the 1965 Act. Supporters proclaimed that America would now have a greater proportion of work-related immigrants and, at last, a global cap.

"[The 1990 Immigration Act is] the very antithesis of the comprehensive national planning that Briggs and other distinguished labor economists believe is necessary for a post-industrial America..."

Dr. Briggs delivers a scathing critique of this Christmas-tree legislation. For example, only 20 percent would be admissions based on skills, the same percentage that prevailed prior to 1990. And the so-called cap can easily be punctured by a rising number of immediate relatives admitted under the cap. As for visa lotteries to compensate immigrants from certain countries, it "cheapens the immigration process" — the same for rich investors buying their way into America for a million dollars (p. 242). As for the new expression of the parole power called "temporary protected status" (with work permit) for undocumented Salvadorans, and for assorted visa overstays claiming adversity in the home country, this may be another track for unskilled migration.

Mass Immigration and the National Interest spotlights the mishmash 1990 Immigration Act as the very antithesis of a comprehensive national planning that Briggs and other distinguished labor economists believe is needed for a post-industrial America facing growing income, social, and racial divisions — and possibly economic decline. The point is elaborated in a chapter given to economic and social transformations that show comparatively small gains in manufacturing employment since the 1950s while America shifts towards a service-based economy requiring more extensive training and formal education in most cases. So why a massive infusion of "fourth wave" people? America already has an immense surplus of unskilled and semiliterate labor.

The author holds that any alleged labor shortage could be met, if America, like other advanced industrial countries, placed greater emphasis on integrated national planning for human-resource development.

In the meantime, from FY 1971 through FY 1990, over 12 million immigrants were legally admitted, including ongoing amnesty recipients. Uncounted were several million undocumented. An estimated 85 percent of these people came from the Third World. Relatively few of these family-connected migrants return.

Attention is called to non-immigrant workers. In FY 1989, non-immigrants with work authorizations numbered 856,000, including students, industrial trainees, farm workers, and persons with special skills. About half were actually employed. In various ways, "temporaries" become permanent immigrants. In truth, employers find it hard to work with family-preference migration and America's failure to promote professional training.

The author's proposals for setting a new course for immigration policy include: adjustable ceilings; admissions tied to labor market needs and social conditions; a special executive agency to set numbers, or the return of administrative responsibility to the Department of Labor where it was until 1940; no nepotism; immediate relatives and refugees under ceilings; control of illegals; and a counterfeit-proof identification system.

For the benefit of legislators, editorialists and think-tank associates, the final chapter, containing an analysis of the 1990 Act and the author's recommendations, should be divided into two, especially to highlight his main proposals.

In sum, this is a basic work on public policy, scholarly, measured, lucid, and with a consistent message throughout: the need for a responsible immigration policy. It is also a primer on the history of immigration policy since World War II. Other valuable features include well placed tables that state the case with statistical eloquence.

This is a book that should not be missed by citizens concerned with this important topic. ■

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Robert McConnell disputes the author's contention that California has successfully managed water supplies. McConnell is an associate professor of Geology at Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, and has his Ph.D. in Geology from the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Who Gets the Water?

A Book Review by Robert McConnell

DIVIDING THE WATERS: GOVERNING GROUNDWATER IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
By William Blomquist
San Francsico: Institute for Contemporary Studies
413 pp., $44.95 (hardcover)
$14.95 (paperback)

William Blomquist has presented an informative story of the historical development of groundwater "management" strategies for eight groundwater basins in the Los Angeles metropolitan region of southern California. He attempts to demonstrate that local solutions by polycentric *ad hoc* organizations to water supply issues are feasible, more efficient and infinitely more workable than those imposed by central bureaucracies or "water czars."

The book seeks to explain how various and, importantly, *different* "solutions" to groundwater overdraft developed in each of the eight groundwater basins studied. Blomquist documents how the solutions were developed by consensus among the water users themselves (supervised closely by the courts) and were not imposed from Sacramento or Washington. He then cites them as examples of the success of local governance over central planning.

While conceding that roughly one in ten groundwater basins throughout the state is still in overdraft, he states "groundwater use had been brought under control in most of the area's major groundwater basins by 1980. How this happened, and the institutions and organizations created to bring about and sustain that control, are the subjects of this study."

In the book's preface, Robert B. Hawkins, Jr., president of the Institute for Contemporary Studies (the book's publisher), promotes these "solutions" as evidence that citizens who "have the opportunity to engage in self-governing, collective action" and who "are able to successfully address issues as complex and vexing as those surrounding groundwater [use]" can avoid "tragedies of the commons," and by inference can solve environmental and resource allocation problems much more efficiently than large governmental entities devoted to centralized planning (such as EPA), which "now [prevail] in most areas of our lives."

The eight basins studied are: Raymond Basin, West Basin, Central Basin, Main San Gabriel Basin, San Fernando Valley, Mojave River, Chino Basin and Orange County.

It is also well to state at the beginning what the book does not do: it does not describe the specific detailed hydrological attributes of each basin, which unfortunately is critical to understanding why the management strategies "worked" in the various basins. Central to the "success" that each basin has achieved is high permeability coupled with low compactability of the shallow aquifers, which allow them to be used, as it were, as massive underground storage tanks to be overdrafted and refilled cyclically without suffering permanent damage. The author in fact interchanges incorrectly two important terms: *porosity* (a measure of the pore volume within media), and *permeability* (a measure of the rate of fluid flow through media). He also incorrectly interchanges *soils* and *sediment*. To be fair, Blomquist is a political scientist, not a hydrologist or geologist. And, to be sure, he provides a valuable discussion on the general behavior and characteristics of groundwater basins. Nor does the book consider issues of groundwater degradation in any significant detail.

The book does contain much valuable data: usable storage capacity of California groundwater basins is immense, 143 million acre-feet (1AF equals nearly 326,000 gallons), triple the capacity of surface impoundments; groundwater provides one-third of all the water used in southern California; there are nearly 450 discrete groundwater basins in the state; and so forth. Moreover, there is a very informative chapter describing characteristics of the state's four watersheds: San Gabriel River, Mojave River, Los Angeles River and Santa Ana River. The history of groundwater development, and incidentally the

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development of southern California itself, is treated well — from the Spanish exploration in the 1760s and the founding of the Los Angeles pueblo in 1781 with its pueblo water rights and Crown land grants, through the various land "booms" of the 1800s, to the explosive growth after World War II and beyond.

A major focus of the book is the extent to which the courts have been essential participants in development and maintenance of viable groundwater management strategies. Blomquist manages to explain in unusually clear prose the various water doctrines, their historical development, and the extent to which vagaries in those doctrines, used by the courts to adjudicate disputes, have complicated the process, such that final adjudication of water disputes may take decades. An example may serve to illustrate the process.

West Basin contains the cities of Long Beach and Torrance and is the western-most basin within the San Gabriel River watershed. Southwest of Los Angeles proper, it is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean (with whose salt waters its aquifers are in intimate contact) and on the east by the Newport-Inglewood Uplift, a fault zone which transmits groundwater flow from the Central Basin to the east. Due to urbanization and the abundance of clay-rich soils, little groundwater recharge occurs within the basin itself.

At the turn of the century West Basin was largely agricultural, but by 1950 it had been almost completely urbanized. By 1912, the slope of the entire water table had been altered from overpumping, such that seawater was being drawn into the aquifers along the coast and coastal wells were being abandoned. Through 1957, the total overdraft was estimated at over 800,000 acre-feet, and most of this had been replaced by seawater. Along the coast, the seawater front was advancing at over 1,000 feet per year. Desperate, three large water users in 1945 filed suit against hundreds of other users, petitioning the Superior Court to essentially allocate groundwater.

By 1952, such sufficient data were available that the overdraft conditions were clear to all users. An interim agreement was finally reached in 1955, but a second lawsuit forced renegotiation of the interim agreement. Finally, in 1961, an agreement was filed with the Court which was speedily approved. Appeals from disgruntled users dragged the process on until 1964, when the last appeal was denied.

The process had taken nineteen years and had cost millions in fees and costs. Even so, this workable agreement was only viable because supplemental supplies had become available, since "*water users would not likely cooperate in reducing withdrawals from the basin until they had an alternative source of supply*" [reviewer's emphasis].

The book's central thesis, therefore, founders on the fact that each of these groundwater basin "solutions" represent special cases, directly related to and critically dependent on the availability of supplemental water supplies from surface sources: the Colorado River, the Owens Valley, and the great Sacramento River Delta, itself fed by the magnificent Sierra river systems, all of which have been ecologically devastated by dam building and water withdrawal.

The water users in the various basins have not therefore solved a "vexing" problem: that of preserving the integrity of their groundwater supplies, by shared sacrifice, inspiration, or gobs of civic virtue. By using surface supplies to increase their water use and maintain the integrity of the eight basins, they have simply "robbed Peter to pay Paul" and thereby contributed to the destruction of ecosystems throughout California and Arizona. Had additional water *not* been available, and had the water users achieved these kinds of "solutions" by shared sacrifice and mutually reduced groundwater use to the safe annual yield of each basin, *then* Blomquist (and the publishers) could rightly assert their claims about the success of "polycentric" organizations.

In fact, the jury is still out on the southern California profligate, water-consuming lifestyle. With population growth in the area averaging nearly 3 per cent per year, Los Angeles has recently lost rights to much of the water it obtained during the early years of this century through the ecological devastation of Owens Valley. And California will soon lose hundreds of thousands of acre-feet of Colorado River water as Arizona gradually asserts water rights. The mandate to restore the Sacramento Delta/San Francisco Bay estuary and to restore the devastated irrigated land of the western San Joaquin Valley will eventually place rigid, and probably much lower, limits on water withdrawals for southern California.

Only then will Blomquist's "solutions" be truly tested. ■

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Immigration and Australia: Two Views

Book Reviews by Denis McCormack

IMMIGRATION
(Australian Retrospective Series)
by James Jupp
Sydney University Press
136 pages

IMMIGRATION AND THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY IN AUSTRALIA
by Lionel Duncombe
Kalgoorlie Press
148 pages

These two books represent the polarization which has occurred within the intellectual community in Australia over the issue of mass immigration. James Jupp is the Director of the Center for Immigration and Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University. Jupp, predictably, is a supporter of continued mass immigration, and has made multicultural studies his specialty. He has received substantial grants from the government-funded Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR). In the 1989-90 fiscal year he received two individual grants totalling A$50,000 [Australian dollars] and a third in conjunction with two A.N.U. colleagues totalling A$57,000. He has been commissioned by the BIR to edit a book on the politics of immigration which saw a further grant to him of A$15,000. Jupp is also engaged in immigration consultancy work — as are many other academics in this country. On October 12, 1992, Mr. P. Ruddock, the Opposition Shadow Minister for Immigration, read into the parliamentary record well over one hundred questions about multicultural funding addressed to the Minister for Multicultural Affairs. We find a termite mound of academics receiving extensive grants and consultancy money in support of the status quo. Jupp's name, along with dozens of other "white ants," occurs in Mr. Ruddock's list with payment to him of A$8,150 in 1991-92 from the department of Prime Minister to provide advice on a framework for evaluation of the government's access and equity strategy, along with another A$16,000 through the Office of Multicultural Affairs to edit a volume containing research commissioned for the access and equity evaluation report.

In Australia, no government funding has ever been granted for research projects systematically critical of the combined effects of immigration and multiculturalism — even though the great majority of Australians, as the Duncombe book shows, are opposed to both the scale and nature of continued immigration, as well as to institutionalized, government-funded multiculturalism. This is not a conspiracy, but it is a blatant display of power on behalf of and by Australia's political and intellectual elites.

Lionel Duncombe's book was originally presented as a thesis for a higher degree. It was not regarded as politically correct, so Duncombe wrote another thesis on the environmental aspects of population growth, meanwhile presenting the original work to Graem Campbell, Labor Party Federal Member for Kalgoorlie for publication in his Kalgoorlie Press series. Campbell is the only politician in Australia who consistently and systematically "walks tall in his Akubra" [similar to an American Stetson] and remains unruffled by the taunts of "racist" and "xenophobic." Duncombe, unlike Jupp, wrote his book from the breadline without prospect of profit or employment.

Jupp's book consists of nine chapters describing distinct phases of Australian immigration. He tells us that "Modern Australia cannot be understood without constant reference to its history as an immigrant nation" (p. vii). The chapters are titled as follows: "Building a New Britannia," "English Immigration in the Nineteenth Century," "Celtic and European

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Immigration," "Non-Europeans and White Australia," "British Immigration in the Twentieth Century," "'Populate or Perish'," "The End of White Australia," "Creating Multicultural Australia," and "Debating Immigration After Two Hundred Years."

From the first pages, Jupp wastes no time in morally condemning British settlement. The Aborigines were expropriated by a brutal people. Britain was not a democracy (p.2), power resting in the hands of a small elite. Capital punishment was practiced for crimes against property as well as persons. Australia, created in Britain's image, "was therefore brutal, undemocratic and corrupt" (p. 2). No one can deny that by today's liberal standards the formative years of any new world nations were harsh. But pioneers must be judged with an eye to the standards of the times, to the harshness of the lands, and to the *zeitgeist* of the era. Africa, China, Japan, and New Guinea were all short on democracy at the time, all had brutal capital punishment — as many still do.

"On what basis could Jupp honestly think that settlement of Australia by Imperial Japan, China, or some other non-white, non-Christian empire would have been better?"

While Jupp portrays the Aborigines as the noble savages who were dispossessed by the evil and corrupt British, more balanced scholarship by competent historians, such as Geoffrey Blainey in *Triumph of the Nomads*, have corrected such a view. They were tribal, cannibalistic, internally disunited, and hostile among hundreds of linguistic and cultural groups. Against superior organization, cohesion, and weapons technology they fought the good fight and lost, as did native peoples throughout the new world. It is a contradiction for Jupp to propose on the one hand that immigration and multiculturalism are so wonderful, while on the other hand advancing a thesis, however subtly, about the original sin and guilt to be felt by Anglo-Saxon/Celtic settlers of Australia and their descendants. One would have thought that if the latter thesis is true it would be a black mark against immigration and multiculturalism. On what basis could Jupp honestly think that settlement of Australia by Imperial Japan, China, or some other non-white, non-Christian empire would have been better?

One need only compare Jupp's book to that of Geoffrey Blainey's *A Land Half Won* to notice Jupp's anti-Anglo-Saxon bias which, in his own case as an English migrant to Australia, amounts to self-loathing. Blainey celebrates the triumphs and fortunes of the pioneers of Australia; Jupp, while presenting some of the same basic historical facts as Blainey, does so in order to constantly portray the founding fathers as "brutal, undemocratic, and corrupt." He does so because he is operating from within a paradigm which is openly hostile to the achievements of white people in general, and Anglo-Saxons/Celts in particular. The White Australia Policy is dismissed as an openly "racist" (that word again!) policy without any balanced review of why the founding fathers of our nation wished to exclude non-European immigration.

Nor does Jupp consider this policy alongside the immigration policies of most Asian nations, such as Japan, which today are more "racist" than Australia allegedly was a century ago — if a desire for homogeneity must be called "racist." Jupp even writes of the "victims" of the White Australia Policy (p. 49) but he offers no arguments as to why such a policy is wrong in any philosophical sense, and fails to explain how someone could be a "victim" merely by being excluded from a country. I am, by these standards, a "victim" of Japanese immigration policy. He bluntly states that the White Australia Policy was an attempt to maintain "racial purity" (p. 83), and infers that this was along Hitlerian lines by saying that arguments about genetic inferiority were brought into disrepute by the collapse of Nazism. Disregarding the fact that Australia fought against the Nazis, the White Australia Policy was seldom defended on grounds of racial purity — and even if it was, it would have nothing to do with Nazism, for logically its merits would have to be considered on its own basis. In essence, White Australia was the assertion of the right to existence for Europeans who for historical reasons were the founders and builders of a nation on a landmass alien to them and to the Asian civilizations and peoples to its north. The White Australia Policy was aimed at socio-cultural and racial respect for differences between Australians

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and neighboring peoples with an eye to long-term self-preservation. Protection against swamping by Asian immigration in this light would seem a perfectly rational response.

Nowhere in Jupps' book are his philosophical biases more evident than in his discussion of Asian immigration. It is of unquestionable benefit, he believes. Filipino settlers, for example, are said, without evidence, to be "better educated than the average Australian and to be in better jobs" (p. 92). However, we are also told that the majority of these immigrants are female and married to Australian men as "mail order brides." The Philippines government outlawed such schemes in 1990 because it was felt to be exploitative of highly vulnerable women who often have poor English language skills and are chosen by certain Australian men, not for their upward mobility as Jupp would have us believe, but because they are easily exploited.

"...mass immigration is not a policy of the people, by the people, but has always been a policy by the elites for the elites, and is becoming more so."

Where scholars such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. ("The Cult of Ethnicity, Good and Bad," *Time*, July 8, 1992, p. 14) see racial and ethnic conflicts as being the most divisive and explosive issues of our times, Jupp sees Australian society as infinitely elastic and quite capable of becoming a fully multicultural, multiracial society. There is no real consideration from Jupp as to whether all this is first desirable (and why) and if it is desirable, whether it can be achieved without the bloodshed now witnessed daily in any number of nations — and societies within them — which have already found themselves in deep evidence of problems, from Eastern Europe to Los Angeles.

Lionel Duncombe's book, *Immigration and the Decline of Democracy in Australia*, gives comprehensive arguments against all of Jupp's. He maintains that mass immigration is not a policy of the people, by the people, but has always been a policy by the elites for the elites, and is becoming more so. With respect to economic, social and environmental variables, post-World War II migration is not seen to have been good for Australia, and today migration is a phenomenon that has long since outlived its usefulness. Duncome's book builds well on the work of other Australians — Betts, Rimmer, Wayne-Smith — whose work will be familiar to readers of this journal. He also shows that the Asianization program is inconsistent with the liberal-humanitarian idea of cultural plurality, for it is more likely to create a new dominant hierarchy than the warm, cuddly patchwork quilt of plurality that Jupp has on his imagined cultural bed.

Near the end of his book Duncombe writes:

> *The most cogent example of the collective attitudes of those involved in the Asianization debate was well demonstrated on the Couchman Show ... Featured on the show were the usual immigrant, church, and business group advocates for an Asian Australia that the ABC* [Australian Broadcasting Company] *invariably stock their audiences with ... But no matter how hard they tried to hide it, they were unable to contain their customary carping cultural cringe about how marvelous Asian culture is, and how insignificant and racist Australians were and are. The general consensus of the immigrant and anti-Australian lobby on this show was that Australia must go cap in hand, contrite and fawning, if we ever want to be accepted as part of the Asia-Pacific region. ... The antagonistic attitude of some of the immigrants on the show to a nation that has so willingly opened its doors to them, showed clearly the cultural imperialism of some, not all, of our new arrivals. It also must have made many Australians wonder why we are so foolishly letting such antagonistic people settle here. The show also showed clearly why Australians do not want any more migration, and why they are very hostile to multiculturalism. If the majority of the migrants on the Couchman Show, and their opinion of Australia and Australians, is any guide — the division and fragmentation of our culture is assured. Future conflicts between minority ethnic groups and the majority population in Australia appear to be inevitable.* ■

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'Free Trade' Reconsidered

A Book Review by Wayne Lutton

AMERICA ASLEEP:
THE FREE TRADE SYNDROME AND
THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CHALLENGE
John P. Cregan, editor
Washington,D.C.: U.S. Industrial Council
Educational Foundation
201 pp., $8.95 (paperback)

On December 17, President Bush, Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, and Mexican President Salinas signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Hailed as an "Enterprise for the Americas" initiative, President-elect Clinton promised to usher it through Congress.

Others are less sanguine about NAFTA's impact. William Gill, of the American Coalition for Competitive Trade, describes free trade as "this myth which has now assumed the status of theology; it is so firmly fixed in the modern mind that no one dares speak out against this hungry Moloch as it insatiably eats up our plants, our jobs, our research, our towns, our cities, our present and our future."

America Asleep is the most informative discussion of trade policy published in many years. In his Introduction to the collection of ten essays, USICEF president John Cregan argues that in the post-Cold War world, "the United States must undergo a *paradigm* shift in thinking about the world economy of today. The old paradigm, manifested by economic *pax Americana*, free trade vs. protectionism, capitalism vs. socialism, laissez-faire vs. state planning, hightech vs. labor intensive — in short, the foundation upon which rests our laissez-faire approach to the global economic arena is no longer viable."

Economic historian William Hawkins reviews the development of free trade ideology from Ricardo and Adam Smith to Alexander Hamilton and today's New Mercantilism. He emphasizes that the basis of American economic strength has been a large and protected domestic market, supplemented by advantageous foreign trade agreements. Hawkins reminds his readers that, "the record shows that no nation reached the first rank of industrial power, or managed to stay there, by adopting free trade."

Alfred Eckes, former head of the International Trade Commission during the Reagan Administration, discusses American foreign trade policy from John Adams to George Bush. He shows how the outline for economic development encompassed by Henry Clay's "American System" was put into practice by Lincoln, McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt, who stated, "Thank God I'm not a Free Trader!" Considering U.S. trade policy for the New World Order, Professor Eckes contends that,"the essential conditions for free trade do not exist, except as a mirage in the minds of international economists and foreign lobbyists. The world is not peaceful, but dangerous and unstable. Trade is not reciprocal... it is one sided and unbalanced."

Kevin Kearns, a former director of the State Department's Office of Defense Trade Policy, contrasts U.S. adherence to free trade to Japanese and German policies that allow them to target key foreign companies and industries, while protecting their own critical sectors. Edward Walsh, senior editor of *Sea Power*, provides a sobering look at our "technology drain" and loss of market share in such areas as robotics, microlithography, and semiconductors. Businessman Boone Pickens follows with his firsthand account of how Japanese *keiretsus* (cartels) operate.

Syndicated columnist Samuel Francis, an historian and former national security analyst, places free trade dogma within the larger context of international globalist impulses. He points out why supporters of this new economic order promote U.S. immigration policies that favor the admission of Third World natives, while fueling demands for "multi-culturalism."

Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley (R-Md) decries recent foreign trade policies which have led to the "hollowing out" of our industrial base. Former USBIC president Anthony Harrigan draws attention to the revolving-door network of U.S. government officials and foreign lobbyists, noting that many of the most vocal public advocates of free trade are on the payroll of foreign companies and governments.

Abraham Lincoln predicted that free trade would lead to "want and ruin among our people." *America Asleep* suggests that "Honest Abe" was right. ■

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Books Briefly Mentioned

THE WORKINGMAN'S REVOLT:
THE VANCOUVER ASIATIC EXCLUSION
RALLY OF 1907
by Robert Jarvis
C-FAR (P.O. Box 332, Rexdale, Ontario, M9W 5L3)
56 pp., $5.00

For the most part, the history of immigration restriction in the United States, Canada, and Australia has not been accurately or fairly recounted. Too often, past anti-immigration efforts have simply been dismissed as outbreaks of "nativism" and "racism."

Robert Jarvis, an intrepid researcher based in British Columbia, has shed new light on a long-ignored and misrepresented chapter in Canadian history, the massive Vancouver Asiatic Exclusion Rally, held on September 7, 1907. Some 30,000 citizens — half the city's population — turned out to protest the landing of boatloads of aliens from India and Japan. The rally represented the high water mark of restrictionist sentiment. Over the objections of big business and foreign lobbyists, the government in Ottawa bowed to public demand and brought Asian immigration to a virtual halt, a condition that lasted for 60 years. As with the United States, it was only in the mid-1960s that the Canadian government once again permitted large-scale immigration. And like the United States, the overwhelming majority of Canada's new immigrants are coming from the Third World.

Jarvis traces the origins of the demand for the exclusion of Asians in Western Canada back to the later half of the 19th Century when mine operators saw the hiring of Chinese coolies as a means of increasing profits and breaking the nascent union movement. The Japanese influx that commenced at the turn of the century was spurred, in large measure, by two Japanese immigration companies that provided transportation and negotiated labor contracts with Canadian businessmen. Starting in 1904, Punjabi Sikhs started pouring in, thanks to promotions by the Canadian Pacific Railway's steamship line and agents in Hong Kong and elsewhere who encouraged East Asians to emigrate to the Pacific Northwest and take jobs in the lumber and sawmill industries at wages far lower than Canadian citizens were commanding.

The September rally was the culmination of months of growing protest. Participants included people from all social classes, political parties, and religious affiliations. But the leadership came from among the trades unions and independent working people, who, Jarvis reminds his readers, "were always aware that they were merely spokesmen for the great mass of British Columbians. The 1907 rally was in all respects a revolt from below."

— *Wayne Lutton*

PAVED WITH GOOD INTENTIONS:
THE FAILURE OF RACE RELATIONS
IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA
by Jared Taylor
New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers
416 pp., $22.95

Exhaustively researched, meticulously documented, and often elegantly written, *Paved With Good Intentions* is the most important book dealing with race relations in America to appear in nearly twenty years. The author dispassionately confronts the relevant issues with a degree of honesty and clarity that has not marked previous discussions.

Jared Taylor has, in effect, written two books. The first chapters deal with how the concept of "racism" and the drive for "equal opportunity" has evolved since the 1950s. He then reveals how Affirmative Action programs work in practice — including the fact that newly arrived Third World immigrants immediately receive preferential treatment. The author then provides a detailed look at the urban underclass. This makes for grim, but necessary, reading.

As the author notes on the first page of his Introduction, a consequence of the 1965 Immigration Act has been "to add two more racial groups to the uneasy mix that, in the heady days of civil rights successes, seemed finally on the road to harmony.... Now 90 percent of all legal immigrants are nonwhite, and Asians and Hispanics have joined the American mix in large numbers. The U.S. has embarked on a policy of multiracial nation-building that is without precedent in the history of the world." If enough of the right people read *Paved With Good Intentions*, an intelligent debate over what to *do* about "the great American dilemma" may commence at last.

— *Wayne Lutton*

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